



The Holocaust
and the United Nations
Outreach Programme



Discussion Papers Journal

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The discussion papers series provides a forum for individual scholars on the Holocaust and the averting of genocide to raise issues for debate and further study. These writers, representing a variety of cultures and backgrounds, have been asked to draft papers based on their own perspective and particular experiences. The views expressed by the individual scholars do not necessarily reflect those of the United Nations. The discussion papers series is also available online at www.un.org/holocaustremembrance.

United Nations Department of Public Information, Outreach Division

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Foreword

While the twentieth century produced great achievements, it also witnessed terrible acts of inhumanity and destruction. At one end of the spectrum were dazzling scientific discoveries and technological developments, made in an environment stimulated by some of history's most brilliant intellectuals and talented individuals. Paradoxically, human beings during this period also witnessed world wars, destruction, starvation and mass atrocities, including the Holocaust which, in many ways, animated the founding of the United Nations.

It is incumbent upon us to ask how such acts of brutality could occur in modern, well-educated and sophisticated societies. What is the driving force behind such aggression and how can it be stopped? How do we ensure that people everywhere enjoy the advantages and fundamental freedoms available in democratic societies, allowing for non-violent conflict resolution within States and between States? What can we learn about human nature by examining these past tragedies to ensure that they will not recur in this twenty-first century?

Recognizing the need to find answers to these vital questions, the United Nations General Assembly, in resolution 60/7 of 1 November 2005, called for the establishment of a programme of outreach on “the Holocaust and the United Nations” to encourage study of the lessons of the Holocaust in order to help prevent future acts of genocide. The Department of Public Information's Holocaust and the United Nations outreach programme, created in January 2006, honours the memory of the victims while helping to mobilize civil society for Holocaust education and remembrance.

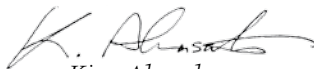
As part of this mandate, the programme has invited scholars from around the world to explore the underlying causes of genocide—hatred, bigotry, racism and prejudice—and draft papers that will inform the discussion on ways to prevent and stop the violence. This volume comprises nine discussion papers, drafted by authors from Australia, China, France, Germany, Ghana, Hungary, Israel, the Sudan and the United States. We are particularly honoured that

Francis Deng, the Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on the Prevention of Genocide, has contributed to this series. I encourage you to read and share this publication. While all of the views expressed by the individual scholars might not necessarily reflect those of the United Nations, the writers offer insights that help to raise the level of dialogue, as well as help to define possible means to curb abuses of human rights and mass violence.

While important strides have been made by the United Nations with the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in 1948, along with the establishment of numerous courts and tribunals to bring to justice the perpetrators of such crimes, the killing and maiming of vulnerable groups persists today.

The concept of “Responsibility to Protect”, adopted by the 2005 World Summit—the largest gathering of Heads of State and Government the world has seen—offers new promise for concrete action by Member States. It summarizes the inherent obligation of every State to protect its populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. It also asserts the responsibility of the international community to take collective action through the United Nations to protect populations from such serious crimes and violations when States manifestly fail to do so. United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon is committed to this concept and has said that, “working together, we can deliver on the promise of the responsibility to protect. And we can transform this idea from an abstract obligation into what it truly is: one of humanity’s highest callings.”

It is my hope that this volume will help guide us in our interactions with others on the subject of genocide, and provide insight on the philosophical, moral and practical issues that must be part of any solution proposed to help preserve human dignity and stop, indeed prevent, mass atrocities.



Kiyoko Akasaka
Under-Secretary-General
for Communications and Public Information
United Nations



1. On the Holocaust and Its Implications



Nazis arrest and deport Jews from the Warsaw ghetto in German-occupied Poland, following the uprising in April 1943.

Photo: Courtesy of United States Holocaust Memorial Museum



Photo: Yad Vashem

Professor Yehuda Bauer

Professor Yehuda Bauer was born in Prague and moved with his family to Israel just prior to the outbreak of the Second World War. A world-renowned expert on the Holocaust, he serves as Academic Adviser to Yad Vashem, the Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority in Israel, and Honorary Chairman of the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research. Professor Bauer has been a visiting professor at several universities including Yale, Brandeis, University of Hawaii (United States), and the Centre for the Study of anti-Semitism in Berlin (Germany). From 1980 to 1995, he served as permanent Academic Chair of the Institute for Contemporary Jewry in Jerusalem (Israel). He also founded the Vidal Sassoon International Centre for the Study of anti-Semitism in Jerusalem. From 1995 to 2000, Professor Bauer was head of the International Institute for Holocaust Research at Yad Vashem, and in 2001 he was elected to be a member of the Israeli Academy of Science. He is the author of many books on the Holocaust and was the founding editor of the Journal for Holocaust and Genocide Studies. Professor Yehuda Bauer delivered the keynote address on "Remembrance and Beyond" at the observance of the first universal International Day of Commemoration in memory of the victims of the Holocaust that was held in the United Nations General Assembly Hall on 27 January 2006.

On the Holocaust and Its Implications

by Professor Yehuda Bauer

Academic Adviser to Yad Vashem, the Holocaust Martyrs' and
Heroes' Remembrance Authority (Israel)
Honorary Chairman of the Task Force for International Cooperation
on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research

It was the Second World War, the most terrible conflict in human history so far, that provided the context in which Auschwitz, the symbol of genocide, could happen, and that war had been initiated by Nazi Germany, largely for ideological reasons: one, the desire to rule Europe, and through it, the world, and thus achieve a global racial hierarchy with the Nordic peoples of the Aryan race on top, and everybody else under them. The second major element in Nazi ideology was anti-Semitism. They saw the Jews as the Satan that controlled all of Germany's enemies. At one end, in their eyes, stood Hitler, the new Jesus Christ, who would lead humanity, under Germanic rule, to a glorious future. At the other end was the satanic Jew, who tried to prevent this utopia from achieving its aim of global rule. It was in the name of that utopia of a wonderful new racist world that the vast majority of the German people were persuaded to commit mass murders, including three genocides at least: against the Poles, the Roma ("Gypsies") and the Jews. We should never forget that utopias kill; radical universalist utopias, such as National Socialism, Communism, and today the radicals who support global terrorism, kill radically and universally.

It is no exaggeration to say that the Second World War, and the death of tens of millions, the destruction of countries and cultures, the torture and death of children and adults, was caused in part by hatred against Jews. There are two aspects to the Holocaust. One is the specificity of the Jewish fate, the other the universal implications; they are two sides of the same coin. The Jews were the specific victims of the genocide. But

the implications are universal, because who knows who the Jews may be next time.

The main parallel between the Holocaust and other genocides is that the suffering of the victims is the same. Murder is murder, torture is torture, rape is rape.

The main parallel between the Holocaust and other genocides is that the suffering of the victims is the same. Murder is murder, torture is torture, rape is rape; starvation, disease, and humiliation are the same in all

mass murders. There are no gradations, and no genocide is better or worse than another one, no one is more victim than anyone else.

The other parallel is that every genocide is perpetrated with the best technical and bureaucratic means at the disposal of the perpetrators. Thus, today's genocide in Darfur is perpetrated with the help of air bombardments, use of cellphones, and the government bureaucracy that supports the murderers and prevents effective outside intervention. The Holocaust was perpetrated with the best technical and bureaucratic means at the disposal of Germany. But the difference was that it happened at the very centre of European and world civilization, and that was unprecedented.

During the twentieth century, vast numbers of civilians and unarmed prisoners of war were murdered by

governments and political organizations, and many more civilians than soldiers were killed. Of these, close to six million Jews died in the most extreme case of genocide so far. Why is the Holocaust the most extreme case? Why do more and more people show an interest in this particular tragedy, why is there a flood of fiction, theatre, films, TV series, art, music, and of course historical, sociological, philosophical, psychological, and other academic research, a flood that has rarely, if ever, been equalled in dealing with any other historical event?

I think the reason is that while all the elements of each genocide are repeated in some other genocides, there are elements in the Holocaust that cannot be found in genocides that preceded it. The perpetrators tried to find, register, mark, humiliate, dispossess, concentrate and murder every person with three or four Jewish grandparents for the crime of having been born a Jew. This was to be done, ultimately, everywhere in the world, so that for the first time in history there was an attempt to universalize a genocide. Also, the ideology was totally unpragmatic, not like in all other genocides. In Rwanda, for instance, a Hutu supremacist ideology developed from the pragmatic background of a real power struggle within the Hutu establishment and a real military struggle against an invading force of the persecuted Tutsi minority. But with the Nazis, the pragmatic elements were minor.

They did not kill the Jews because they wanted their property. They robbed their property in the process of getting rid of them, first by emigration, then by expulsion, and in the end by murder. They killed Jewish armament workers when they needed every pair of hands after the defeat at Stalingrad in early 1943; they murdered Jewish slave labourers while they were building roads for the German military. If they had followed modern, capitalistic practice, they would have robbed Jewish property and then utilized Jewish slave labour for their own purposes, as they did with the Poles, for instance. But they murdered the Jews because that was

where their ideology led them, an ideology that had the character of nightmares.

They believed in a Jewish world conspiracy and in the notorious forgery called the “Protocols of the Elders of Zion”, produced in the early part of the twentieth century by the police in Tsarist Russia, which was used and adapted by the Nazis. They believed in the accusation of ritual murder of non-Jewish children by the Jews. The genocide of the Jews, then, was based on nightmares that turned into ideology. Then, there was the utopia of a global racist hierarchy which had one real satanic enemy, the Jews, who had to be eliminated, although there are no races, because we all are originally from Africa. The Nazis very consciously opposed all the values of European civilization such as liberalism, democracy, socialism and humanitarianism, and wanted to destroy them. They saw in the Jews embodiments of the values which they wanted to eliminate, and the destruction of the Jews followed. All this was without a precedent.

The Holocaust was unprecedented, and we had hoped that it would become a warning, not a precedent. But we have been proven wrong. It has become a precedent, and other genocides have followed it. What does this mean for humanity, what does it mean for the United Nations? What shall we do about the United Nations?

When I was five years old, I said to my mother: Mother, pretty you are not, but you are mine. The United Nations is ours; it is the best United Nations we have—we have no other. So, rather than run it down, rather than criticize it out of existence, let us support it, try to improve it, make it more effective in protecting humanity.

Is there any possibility that we may succeed when we try to prevent genocide, using our understanding of the paradigmatic genocide of the Jews, and the comparison with other genocides that must follow from that? I think that humans have in them the instinct to kill, and we are the only mammals that kill our own kind in huge

numbers. This may well be the result of the development of our species, when we defend ourselves, our families, nations, and territory from real or imagined enemies by eliminating them. We all could become mass murderers. But if that is so, is there any realistic way of preventing outbreaks of genocidal murders? The Holocaust can provide an answer to this question: at Yad Vashem we now have over 21,000 names of individuals and groups that rescued Jews. They show that there is another way, that there is in us also the possibility of coming to the rescue of other humans at the risk of our own lives.

It is these stories that show us that there is an alternative, that the attempts made at prevention of genocide, as for instance by the office of the Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on the Prevention of Genocide, and by various NGOs and governments, are not a hopeless task. But the failure to deal with the ongoing genocide in Darfur shows how tremendously difficult it is. If we do not stop the genocide in Darfur, it will spread, there will be more genocidal massacres, and the price for the world will be heavy indeed.

Politics that are not based on moral basis are, at the end of the day, not practical politics at all. It is out of these considerations that I beg you to permit me to repeat here what I said, exactly eight years ago, in a speech to the German Bundestag: I come from a people that gave the Ten Commandments to the world. Let us agree that we need three more commandments, and they are these: thou shalt not be a perpetrator; thou shalt not be a victim; and thou shalt never, but never, be a bystander.

The United Nations is ours; it is the best United Nations we have [...] let us support it, try to improve it, make it more effective in protecting humanity.

Please see the next page for discussion questions

Discussion questions

1. What lessons can be learned from the Holocaust in the midst of the Second World War in terms of:
 - Preventing future genocide?
 - Stopping such killings as they happen?
2. What are the consequences for an individual and for a society of being a bystander?
3. What are the signs that a genocide is being prepared?
Is the study of the Holocaust and the genocide in Rwanda sufficient to warn of an impending genocide?
4. During the World Summit in 2005, world leaders called for the acceptance of a universal principle of the responsibility to protect civilian populations from crimes against humanity when Governments are unwilling or unable to do so. How can this commitment be implemented so that the world does not witness another genocide unfold?
5. How do States and leaders that commit and support genocide come to believe that they could proceed without challenge from the international community?



2. Holocaust Education in China



*The Jewish ghetto of Shanghai during the Second World War:
Jewish refugees transformed a small street in Hongkew
into one reminiscent of Vienna.*

*Photo: Reprint from the publication The Jews in China,
courtesy of Professor Pan Guang, editor.*



Photo: Defang Kong

Professor Xu Xin

Professor Xu Xin serves as a Professor of History of Jewish Culture and Director of the Centre for Jewish Studies at Nanjing University, People's Republic of China. President of the China Judaic Studies Association, Professor Xu Xin is the author of many books and articles on Judaism and anti-Semitism. Amongst other activities to promote the study of Jewish and Holocaust related subjects in China, he initiated many exhibitions, conferences and training workshops on Judaism and the Holocaust, including the first International Conference on Jewish Studies held in China in October 1996, co-sponsored by Tel Aviv University. Professor Xu Xin also organized in China in 2005 the International Symposium on the Holocaust and the Nanjing Massacre during the Second World War, co-sponsored by the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research and the London Jewish Cultural Centre. In addition, Professor Xu Xin has given some 300 lectures as a visiting professor in many countries, including the United States, Great Britain and Israel.

Holocaust Education in China

by Professor Xu Xin

Professor and Director of the Centre of Jewish Studies,
Nanjing University (People's Republic of China)
President of the China Judaic Studies Association

Holocaust education is a uniquely situated programme in China. China is a country without any anti-Semitic tradition and the Holocaust happened in a place thousands of miles away. Is Holocaust education necessary? What is the importance of promoting Holocaust education among the Chinese? Chinese experience tells us that the development of Holocaust education is linked closely to Judaic studies in general, and Holocaust studies in particular, and that it is necessary to encourage advanced studies of the Holocaust in order to promote Holocaust education both in the school system and in the university. This paper attempts to analyse the uniqueness and importance of Holocaust education by providing a background and accounting of some of the major activities in the field of Holocaust studies in China.

1. Background

The relative paucity of direct contact with Jews throughout Chinese history impeded early awareness of our concern about the Holocaust in China. The Japanese invasion of China during the Second World War also ensured that there would be fewer reports in China about the fate of European Jewry between 1933 and 1945 than in

Western nations. Though it is not fair to say that the Chinese were entirely ignorant about the tragedy, as articles and reports on the persecutions did appear in various Chinese magazines and newspapers, the attention given to the issue by the Chinese was not widespread. Only a limited number of Chinese were aware of the Holocaust at the time. After the war, when the atrocities became known around the world, little public attention was drawn to the genocide.

Since fascism was considered the ultimate form of capitalism, capitalism was blamed as the root cause of the massive killings.

The reason was not a lack of sympathy or indifference on the part of the Chinese, but rather their own substantial suffering. Immediate attention was almost totally focused on the Chinese fate. The death toll of the Chinese in the Second World War—perhaps exceeding thirty million—was, after all, much greater than that of the Jews.

In the early 1950s, after the Communists assumed power in China, the issue of the Holocaust was barely raised. Rather than entirely dismiss the issue, China followed the former Soviet Union's approach to the Holocaust by depicting the destruction of the Jews as merely a minor part of fascism's racist murder of millions of European civilians. Since fascism was considered the ultimate form of capitalism, capitalism was blamed as the root cause of the massive killings. According to this view, the fate of the Jews was not especially different or special. As a result, the Holocaust lost its uniqueness and became insignificant in the Chinese educational system.

2. A changed situation

A marked change occurred in the 1980s with the deepening of the open-door policy in China and a newfound Chinese interest in Judaic studies. The study of Jewish subjects by Chinese scholars started in the 1980s and accelerated following the normalization of diplomatic relations between China and Israel in 1992. Besides conferences,

exhibitions and courses, a large number of books¹ and articles on various Jewish and Israeli subjects appeared in Chinese. Holocaust studies, which are inseparable from Judaic studies, were conducted in academic circles.

The year 1995 marked a turning point in Holocaust studies in China, with the publication of two books² whose sole focus was on the Shoah. The publications provided the Chinese people with a much fuller and more concrete picture of the Holocaust than any previous books. Though both presented a narrative description rather than a strictly academic analysis of the Holocaust, they played an important role in informing the Chinese about the Holocaust.

Xu Xin's *Anti-Semitism: How and Why*,³ a book aiming to examine the issue of anti-Semitism from a historical perspective, provides a causal analysis of the Holocaust. Regarding the root of the Nazi's anti-Jewish policy, it not only invokes Germany's long tradition of anti-Semitism, the overall Christian tradition of anti-Semitism and the German church's role in generating anti-Semitic beliefs, but also points out that anti-Semitism became a popular platform accepted by almost all political parties in modern Germany both before and during the Nazi era. This might help Chinese readers understand why very few Germans stood up to condemn Hitler's policies against Jews. Perhaps the greatest contribution of *Anti-Semitism: How and Why* is that it provides its readers with an accessible history of anti-Semitism in Europe, a key component of the Holocaust, but one with which the Chinese are least familiar.

Holocaust education appears in Chinese colleges with the deepening of Holocaust studies and the awareness that "the Holocaust

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- 1 More than 60 books were published in Chinese up to 1994. For details, see *Catalog of the Chinese Books about Israel and Jewish Culture*, edited by Xu Xin and Eyal Propper, 1994.
 - 2 Yang Mansu, *Catastrophe for Jews, Records of the Holocaust* (China Social Sciences Publishing House, 1995) and Zhu Jianjing, *The Death of Six Million Jews in Europe* (Shanghai People's Publishing House, 1995).
 - 3 Published by Shanghai Sanlian Shudian, 1996.

fundamentally challenged the foundations of civilization and the unprecedented character of the Holocaust will always hold universal meaning”.⁴ Nanjing University has played a leading role in Holocaust education in China. A “learning Jewish culture” project was launched in 1992 to promote the study of Jewish subjects among Chinese college students. Though at the very beginning, the Holocaust occupied only a very small portion of the regular courses on

The course covers not only the roots of the Holocaust [...] but also lessons of the Shoah for all humanity, its particular implication for the Chinese, and measures for preventing its recurrence.

Jewish culture, the interest of students in learning more about the Holocaust grew. In eight years, about 1,000 students who took Jewish culture courses learned about the Holocaust. In 2000, a full course on the Holocaust, entitled “The Holocaust through Videos”, was offered at the University. More than 70 students took it for college credit. A combination of lectures and videos, the course covers not only the roots of the Holocaust, the process and details of

persecutions and atrocities and post-war consequences, but also lessons of the Shoah for all humanity, its particular implication for the Chinese, and measures for preventing its recurrence.

In order to introduce Holocaust education throughout China, a teacher’s training seminar was held at Nanjing University in 2005,⁵ co-sponsored by the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research, Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Shoah, and the Institute of Jewish Studies at Nanjing University. Over 80 people from seven countries participated in the seminar, which shared knowledge through a series of lectures, seminars and museum tours. As Chinese scholars learned about the Holocaust and how to teach it, they also shared their expertise

4 See the Declaration of the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust.

5 A second seminar was held at Henan University in July 2006 with more than 100 participants.

on the Second World War Nanjing Massacre with the non-Chinese participants. Parallels were drawn between the two atrocities. The seminar aroused great attention and promoted education about, remembrance of and research on the Holocaust.

Participants took away from the seminar not only the facts but the necessary skills to disseminate their knowledge. To run a seminar on the Holocaust against the background of the Nanjing Massacre proved to be an effective and useful means to present reliable, unprejudiced and accurate knowledge of the Holocaust to Chinese scholars who are either teaching courses on world history or western civilization at colleges, or who are doing research or pursuing Ph.D. degrees. It becomes much easier for the Chinese to see some of the unprecedented characteristics of the Holocaust and makes the Holocaust tangible and concrete. Moreover, it provides a rare opportunity for Chinese scholars to learn about the Holocaust and the sufferings of the Jewish people during the Second World War in a systematic way, without going abroad. It also provides the opportunity to teach the Holocaust in related courses in China.

3. Unique aspects of Holocaust studies/ education in China

Holocaust studies/education have certain distinct features in China. First, it is closely linked to Judaic studies in China. Judaic studies provide a good foundation for the formation of a proper understanding of the Holocaust. If we could summarize the development of Holocaust studies and education in China, we would see the tendency of it: Judaic studies lead to the study of anti-Semitism, which in turn leads to Holocaust studies/education. With the deepening of Judaic studies, Holocaust studies/education will surely expand.

Secondly, Holocaust studies/education becomes a valuable reference for the Chinese, allowing them to re-examine the Nanjing Massacre. Admittedly this is an unspoken purpose of Holocaust studies/education in China: to establish a reference between the

Holocaust and the Nanjing Massacre. It would be going too far to say that the interest in Holocaust studies/education stems from an attempt by the Chinese—as a tactical measure—to highlight their own sufferings at the hands of the Japanese. However, Holocaust studies/education certainly do help the Chinese learn different ways of looking into and remembering the Nanjing Massacre in particular, and Japanese persecution of the Chinese during the Second World War in general.

What happened to the sense of human rights during the Second World War? Holocaust education obviously helps to bring out more human rights discussions among the Chinese.


Thirdly, Holocaust studies/education raises human rights issues in China. What Hitler did is considered as a crime against humanity. It raises a number of questions concerning mankind. For instance, how could a group of human beings (the Nazis) do such evil things to another group (the Jews)? Why did the rest of the world stand by in silence while the Holocaust took place? What is human nature? What happened to the sense of human rights during

the Second World War? Holocaust education obviously helps to bring out more human rights discussions among the Chinese.

Fourthly, Holocaust studies/education provides useful lessons for Chinese to combat Japanese denial of the Nanjing Massacre. Like Holocaust denial in the West, some Japanese historians continue to attack the authenticity and objectivity of evidence and testimony regarding events related to the massacre. For instance, they insist that the evidence and testimonies are fabricated, that insufficient primary source materials exist to substantiate the massacre, and that the massacre was nothing but an “illusion”. Winning the war against Holocaust denial certainly encourages the Chinese to win their own war against denial of the Nanjing Massacre.

Discussion questions

1. Due to China's geographic, social and historical distance from the genocide committed by the Nazi regime, Chinese academic study can provide a unique perspective on the Holocaust. In what ways can examination of an outside perspective help those nations directly affected by the Holocaust learn to better understand their own history?
2. How can learning about the sufferings of individuals and groups far from our own families and societies help us to humanize "the other", and contribute to the possibilities of peace?
3. Can the Holocaust serve as a paradigm through which we might understand other genocides and crimes against humanity?
4. In its resolution 60/7, the United Nations General Assembly "urges Member States to develop educational programmes that will inculcate future generations with the lessons of the Holocaust in order to help to prevent future acts of genocide". What could be the long-term consequences of educational initiatives such as those taking place in China?
5. According to Professor Xu Xin, why is the study of the Holocaust important to all societies and to the Chinese in particular?



3. Hitler, Pol Pot, and Hutu Power: Distinguishing Themes of Genocidal Ideology



At the “Killing Fields” memorial near Phnom Penh, shelves filled with human skulls testify to Cambodia’s tragic past during the regime of Democratic Kampuchea in the years between 1975 and 1979.



Photo: Michael Marsland

Professor Ben Kiernan

Ben Kiernan (Australia) is an expert on the study of genocide and crimes against humanity. He is the A. Whitney Griswold Professor of History, as well as Professor of International and Area Studies and Director of the "Genocide Studies Program" at Yale University (United States). He was founding Director of the University's "Cambodian Genocide Program" (1994-1999) and Convenor of the Yale East Timor Project (2000-2002).

Professor Kiernan is the author and editor of many books and articles on South-East Asia and the history of genocide, including *Blood and Soil: A World History of Genocide and Extermination from Sparta to Darfur*, published in 2007. According to Yale University Press, Professor Kiernan's writings "have transformed our understanding not only of twentieth century Cambodia but also of the historical phenomenon of genocide".

Hitler, Pol Pot, and Hutu Power: Distinguishing Themes of Genocidal Ideology

by Professor Ben Kiernan

A. Whitney Griswold Professor of History,
Professor of International and Area Studies,
Director, Genocide Studies Program, Yale University (United States)

The Nazi Holocaust of the Jews was history's most extreme case of genocide. The State-sponsored attempt at total extermination by industrialized murder of unarmed millions in less than five years has few parallels. Wholesale destruction of 5 million to 6 million Jews and the cataclysmic invasions of most of Europe and the USSR that made it possible required an advanced economy and a heavily-armed modern state. Yet the Nazi killing machine also had a more antiquated power source. It was operated by interlocking ideological levers that celebrated race, history, territory, and cultivation—all notions which may crop up in a range of technological contexts.

These powerful perpetrator preoccupations are also characteristic of other genocides. Common features of genocidal thinking can be identified even in cases that lacked the destructive power of the Holocaust. Indeed their perpetrators' ideological preoccupations can often be discerned from early stages of their careers, before they come to power or amass the military or organizational apparatus

required to carry out genocide. Description of these features common to many cases may help in the prediction and prevention of future genocides.

I will juxtapose Nazi ideology with that of two other genocide perpetrators: the Khmer Rouge rulers of Cambodia from 1975 to 1979, and Rwanda's Hutu Power regime of 1994. Leaders of all three regimes held visions of the future partly inspired by ancient pasts—mythical and pristine—in which they imagined members of their original, pure, agrarian race, farming once larger territories that contained no Jews, no Vietnamese, and no Tutsis. The perpetrators of genocide against those victim groups shared preoccupations not only with ethnic purity but also with antiquity, agriculture, and expansionism. Genocidal thinking is usually racist, reactionary, rural, and irredentist.

Hitler praised Arminius (“Hermann”), who annihilated ancient Roman legions, as “the first architect of our liberty”, and the aggressive medieval monarch, Charlemagne, as “one of the greatest men in world history”. In 1924, Hitler urged that “the new Reich must again set itself on the march along the road of the Teutonic knights of old, to obtain by the German sword sod for the German plow”.¹

A second model was Roman history itself, which Hitler considered “the best mentor, not only for today, but probably for all time”. He considered Rome's genocide of Carthage in 146 BCE “a slow execution of a people through its own deserts”. Classical Sparta was a third Nazi model. Hitler recommended in 1928 that a state should “limit the number allowed to live”, and added: “The Spartans were once capable of such a wise measure... The subjugation of 350,000 Helots by 6,000 Spartans was only possible because of the racial superiority of the Spartans.” They had created “the first racist state”. Invading the USSR in 1941, Hitler saw its citizens as

1 *Hitler's Table Talk, 1941-44* (London, 1973), 78, 25, 289; Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (New York, 1999) 140, 654. Further details and citations may be found in Ben Kiernan, *Blood and Soil: A World History of Genocide and Extermination from Sparta to Darfur* (New Haven, 2007), chs. 11, 15.

Helots to his Spartans: “They came as conquerors, and they took everything.” A Nazi officer specified that “the Germans would have to assume the position of the Spartiates, while ... the Russians were the Helots.”²

“I’ve just learnt”, Hitler further remarked, “that the feeding of the Roman armies was almost entirely based on cereals.” Now, he added, Ukraine and Russia “will one day be the granaries of Europe”, but they merited that responsibility only with German agricultural settlement. “The Slavs are a mass of born slaves”, Hitler claimed, but under the German peasant “every inch of ground is zealously exploited”. Thus, “all winter long we could keep our cities supplied with vegetables and fresh fruit. Nothing is lovelier than horticulture.” Germans were more advanced because “our ancestors were all peasants”. But the country suffered from excessive, “harmful” industrialization, causing “the weakening of the peasant”. Hitler considered “a healthy peasant class as a foundation for a whole nation... A solid stock of small and middle peasants has been at all times the best protection against social evils.” “Germany’s future”, he claimed in 1933, “depends exclusively on the conservation of the peasant.”³

At the height of the Holocaust, Nazi ideologues remained preoccupied not only with racial theorizing, genocide and expansionist war, but also with antiquity and agrarianism.

Nazis saw Jews as archetypal town-dwellers. Anti-urban thinking reinforced virulent anti-Semitism. At the height of the Holocaust, Nazi ideologues remained preoccupied not only with racial theorizing, genocide and expansionist war, but also with antiquity and agrarianism.

2 Adolph Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 423, 612, 668; *Hitler’s Table Talk*, 118; Adolf Hitler, *Hitler’s Second Book* (New York, 2003), xxi, 21; *Der Generalplan Ost*, in *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 6 (1958), 296.

3 *Hitler’s Table Talk*, 26, 28, 33, 26, 116; *Mein Kampf*, 233-34, 138; J.E. Farquharson, *The Plough and the Swastika* (London, 1976), 216.

The Pol Pot regime's guide to Cambodia's ancient temples revealed its own official preoccupation with antiquity. It began: "Angkor Wat had been built between 1113 and 1152." Enemies such as the local Cham minority, victims of genocide under Pol Pot, were perennial. The temple of Angkor Thom, the guidebook went on, was built "after the invasion of Cham troops in 1177, who had completely destroyed the capital". Another publication added: "The marvellous

It announced that the countryside itself, not the urban proletariat, comprised the vanguard of the revolution: "We have evacuated the people from the cities, which is our class struggle."

monuments of Angkor [are] considered by the whole Humanity as one of the masterpieces of the brilliant civilization and the creative spirit of the working people of Kampuchea." As Pol Pot put it, "If our people can make Angkor, we can make anything." His victory in 1975 was of "greater significance than the Angkor period". Stalinism and Maoism offered the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK) the political means to rival this medieval model and restore the rural

tradition of an imagined era when, Pol Pot claimed, "our society used to be good and clean".⁴

Maoism reinforced a Khmer Rouge fetish for rural life. In the 1960s, Prince Sihanouk's regime denounced Khmer Rouge rebels for "inciting people to boycott schools and hospitals and leave the towns". Rebels said of Sihanouk, "Let him break the soil like us for once." In his memoirs the former CPK head of state, Khieu Samphan, recalled meeting guerrilla commander Mok in the jungle. His account suggests Samphan was mesmerized by a rural romance. He found Mok dressed "like all the peasants", in black shorts and unbuttoned short-sleeved shirt. "The diffuse glow of the lamp nevertheless revealed to us the deep and piercing eyes which stood out on his bearded face."

4 Democratic Kampuchea, *Angkor* (1976 typescript), 11; *Democratic Kampuchea is Moving Forward* (Phnom Penh, 1977), 6, 2; David P. Chandler and Ben Kiernan, eds., *Revolution and Its Aftermath in Kampuchea* (New Haven, 1983), 35; Pol Pot, *Toussena: sopheapkar padevatt kampuchea baccabon*, 13 (?) July 1978, 16.

Mok “moved about freely, ... sometimes bare-chested, revealing his hairy chest and arms ... In fact, in the face of his activity, I became well aware of my limits. And more deeply, I felt pride to see this man I considered a peasant become one of the important leaders of a national resistance movement.”⁵

As it expanded through Cambodia's countryside, the CPK divided Khmer society into “classes”. In theory, the working class was “the leader”, but in practice “the three lower layers of peasants” formed “the base” of the Party's rural revolution. The victorious CPK forcibly emptied Cambodia's cities in 1975, and acknowledged: “Concretely, we did not rely on the forces of the workers ... they did not become the vanguard. In concrete fact there were only the peasants.”⁶ The CPK's main vision remained rural. Samphan claimed: “water is flowing freely, and with water the scenery is fresh, the plants are fresh, life is fresh and people are smiling ... The poor and lower middle peasants are content. So are the middle peasants.” Pol Pot added: “People from the former poor and lower middle peasant classes are overwhelmingly content ... because now they can eat all year round and become middle peasants.” That seemed to be the Party's view of the future. It went beyond even Maoism when it announced that the countryside itself, not the urban proletariat, comprised the vanguard of the revolution: “We have evacuated the people from the cities, which is our class struggle.”⁷ In crushing “enemies”, CPK cadres resorted to agricultural metaphors such as “pull up the grass, dig up the roots”, and proclaimed that victims' corpses would be used for “fertilizer”.

5 *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts (SWB)*, FE/2784/A3/2; Ben Kiernan, *How Pol Pot Came to Power: Colonialism, Nationalism and Communism in Cambodia, 1930-1975* (New Haven, 2004), 287-88; Khieu Samphan, *Prowattisat kampuchea thmey thmey nih ning koul chomhor rebos khnyom cia bontor bontoap* (Phnom Penh, 2004), 27, 35.

6 *Rien saut daoy songkep nu prowatt chollana padevatt kampuchea kraom kar duk noam rebos paks kommunist kampuchea*, trans. in Chandler, D.P., Kiernan, B., and Boua, C., *Pol Pot Plans the Future: Confidential Leadership Documents from Democratic Kampuchea, 1976-1977* (New Haven, 1988), 219.

7 Ben Kiernan, *The Pol Pot Regime: Race, Power, and Genocide in Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge, 1975-1979* (New Haven, 2008), 204; United States CIA, *Foreign Broadcast Information Service*, 29 September 1977, H4; *Tung Padevat* (Sept.-Oct. 1976), 40, 52.

Territorial expansionism accompanied the agrarian cult. The regime launched attacks against all Cambodia's neighbours: Viet Nam, Laos and Thailand. The cost in Cambodian lives is unknown, but according to Hanoi, the Khmer Rouge killed approximately 30,000 Vietnamese civilians and soldiers in nearly two years of cross-border raids.⁸ Pol Pot aimed to "stir up national hatred and class hatred for the aggressive Vietnamese enemy". Attacks into Viet Nam would "kill the

From 1975 to 1979, CPK rule caused the deaths of approximately 1.7 million people, from overwork, disease, starvation, and murders of political and ethnic "enemies".

enemy at will, and the contemptible Vietnamese will surely shriek like monkeys screeching all over the forest". Cambodia declared an expanded maritime frontier, and projected territorial changes in "Lower Cambodia" (*Kampuchea Krom*), land lost to Viet Nam since the early nineteenth century. Many CPK officials announced their goal to "retake Kampuchea Krom". Pol Pot ordered troops to "go in and wage guerrilla war to tie up the enemy by the throat". A CPK report claimed that most of the people

of Kampuchea Krom sought "to join with the Kampuchean army in order to kill all the Vietnamese [*komtech yuon aoy os*]". In Cambodia, the Party accused most of its Khmer victims of having "Khmer bodies with Vietnamese minds". The regime launched its biggest massacres of Cambodians with a call to "purify ... the masses of the people".⁹ From 1975 to 1979, CPK rule caused the deaths of approximately 1.7 million people, from overwork, disease, starvation, and murders of political and ethnic "enemies", including Vietnamese and Cham minorities.¹⁰ Obsessions with race, history, cultivation, and territory all played roles in the Cambodian genocide.

8 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 14 July 1988, 14.

9 Pol Pot, *Sekkedei nae noam rebos 870*, 3 January 1978, 12, 15-16, 4-8; Mam Nay, *Ompi sopheapkar niw srok phnom 7 (Svay Tong) kampuchea kraom*, 19 March 1978, 5; Phnom Penh Radio, 10 May 1978, BBC SWB, FE/5813/A3/2, 15 May 1978.

10 Ben Kiernan, *The Pol Pot Regime*, 458; and "The Demography of Genocide in South-east Asia: The Death Tolls in Cambodia, 1975-79, and East Timor, 1975-80", *Critical Asian Studies* 35:4, 2003, 585-97.

In ancient times, Rwanda had been a peaceful Hutu realm, “before the arrival of the Tutsis”, wrote a leading perpetrator of the 1994 genocide. He asserted that “the Hutus of the great Bantu family and the Twa or pygmies of the smaller ethnic group were living harmoniously since as early as the ninth century”. Then in the sixteenth century came a race of northern interlopers, the “Tutsis from Abyssinia”.¹¹

In 2003, the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda convicted the major Hutu chauvinist historian, Ferdinand Nahimana, of genocide. Nahimana began his research in 1978 in the north-west of Rwanda, home of then President Juvénal Habyarimana and his wife, Agathe Kanziga, a princess of the former local Hutu court of Bushiru. Nahimana wrote that long before “the expansion and installation of Tutsi power” throughout Rwanda, northern Hutus had organized themselves into “States”, each with a long history. From oral accounts by “direct descendants of the last Hutu princes”, Nahimana listed nine kingdoms and their rulers. He projected these Hutu realms back into history, adding a generation of 33 years for each reign, and calculated that they had all “emerged in the course of the sixteenth century (6 monarchies) and the seventeenth century (3 monarchies)”. The first king of Bushiru supposedly ruled from 1600 to 1633; Buhoma’s founder “reigned between 1499 and 1532”. Only after “429 years (1499-1928)”, did Buhoma fall to “Tutsi occupation”.¹² In part, the genocide of Tutsis was an attempt to reverse that historical outcome.

Like the Nazis and Khmer Rouge, Hutu Power’s genocidal ideology combined conceptions of history and race with notions of agriculture and territory.

Nahimana concluded, for instance, that the term *umuhinza*, applied to north-western Hutu rulers brought under the Tutsi

11 Théoneste Bagosora, *L’assassinat du Président Habyarimana; ou, L’ultime opération du Tutsi pour sa reconquête du pouvoir par la force au Rwanda* (Yaoundé, 30 October 1995), 14.

12 Ferdinand Nahimana, “Les principautés Hutu du Rwanda septentrional”, in *La civilisation ancienne des peuples des grand lacs* (Paris and Bujumbura, 1981), 125, 119, 115-16, 128-31, 134.

monarchy, derived from a word that denoted both “agricultural prosperity” and “territorial security”. These north-west Hutu princes had retained local ritual prestige through this title, which meant in part, “the farmer par excellence governing a people of cultivators”, or “President of Crops”. Hutu-dominated regimes saw Rwanda’s Tutsi minority not only as historical oppressors, but also as urban dwellers or cattle-raising pastoralists, not hardy peasant cultivators like the Hutu. Rural life and work became a fetish of Hutu Power. Nahimana rhapsodized about intellectuals who “have taken up the hoe, the pruning-knife or any other manual tool and have joined with the peasant masses to move earth with their hands and to live the effective reality of manual labour ... Together, they have restored value to the hoe.” As director of Rwanda’s Office of Information from 1990, Nahimana determined to allow “at last, ‘rural truth’ to come out”.¹³

The Hutu Power radio station, *Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines* (RTL) combined agrarian themes with violent racism. It proclaimed in 1993: “Tutsi are nomads and invaders who came to Rwanda in search of pasture.” RTL’s editor-in-chief announced three weeks before the genocide began in April 1994: “We have a radio here, even a peasant who wants to say something can come, and we will give him the floor. Then, other peasants will be able to hear what peasants think.” At the height of the slaughter in mid-May, RTL urged continuing efforts to “exterminate the Tutsi from the globe” and “make them disappear once and for all”. A listener who became a killer told researcher Charles Mironko of hearing broadcasts of statements such as: “While a Hutu is cultivating, he has a gun”, and “When the enemy comes up, you shoot at each other. When he retreats, then you take up your hoe and cultivate!” The hunt for Tutsis was expressed in slogans like “clear the bushes”, or “separate the grass from the millet”, and “pull out the poison ivy together with its roots”. The official

13 Ferdinand Nahimana, “Les principautés Hutu”, 123-24; Ferdinand Nahimana, *Conscience chez-nous, confiance en nous: Notre culture et la base de notre développement harmonieux* (Ruhengeri, 1998), 58; Charles Mironko, *Social and Political Mechanisms of Mass Murder: An Analysis of Perpetrators in the Rwandan Genocide* (Yale University Ph.D. dissertation, Anthropology Department, 2004), 148-49.

broadcaster, Radio Rwanda, also urged people to hunt down Tutsis, for instance on 12 April: “Do communal work to clear the brush, to search houses, beginning with those that are abandoned, to search the marshes of the area to be sure that no *inyenzi* [cockroaches, i.e. Tutsi] have slipped in.” The Prefect of Kigali later portrayed the 1994 killings as the result of provocation by ethnic Tutsi attacks on an agrarian Hutu paradise. He blamed the supposedly “inter-ethnic” massacres on the opposition “Monoethnic Tutsi Army”, which had disrupted “the sweet years of the Second Republic, when milk and honey flowed in plenty”.¹⁴

Hutu Power’s world view was territorial too, with an expansionism that was both internal and aimed beyond Rwanda’s borders. Habyarimana’s 1973 coup, Gérard Prunier writes, had not only brought to power a Bushiru princess, but also ushered in a wave of “northern revenge” by a “fiercely Hutu” faction against the more liberal and tolerant southern Hutu communities. After Habyarimana’s death on 6 April 1994, the northern chauvinists immediately turned to conduct the genocide of Tutsi. Prunier calls them “the real northwesterners’, the representatives of the ‘small Rwanda’ which had conquered the big one”.¹⁵ Their campaign suggests that they aimed to extend throughout Rwanda the ethnic Hutu purity of Bushiru, turning a regional identity into a racialized form of domestic irredentism.

Hutu Power’s ethno-territorial ambitions were also external. Nahimana pointed out that the pre-colonial Tutsi kingdom of

The official broadcaster, Radio Rwanda, also urged people to hunt down Tutsis, for instance on 12 April: “to search the marshes of the area to be sure that no inyenzi [cockroaches, i.e. Tutsi] have slipped in.”

14 Alison Des Forges, *Leave None to Tell the Story: Genocide in Rwanda* (New York, 1999), 68-69, 249; Charles Mironko, *Social and Political Mechanisms*, 153, 151, 170; International Monitor Institute, “Kantano Habimana”, www.imisite.org/rwanda.php#3 (accessed 13 January 2006); Tharcisse Renzaho, *Guerre civile et les massacres inter-ethniques d’avril 94* (undated typescript), 14.

15 Gérard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis* (New York, 1997), 86, 222.

Rwanda had also “extended its influence” to eastern Congo and southern Uganda, yet “this influence did not always signify political and administrative submission” by local polities. Like the Hutu kingdoms of north-west Rwanda, “these territories beyond modern Rwanda never ceased to be ruled by their own authorities”. A historical potential therefore existed for an anti-Tutsi alliance transcending Rwanda’s frontiers. Nahimana complained that European colonial regimes, too, had “murdered and mutilated” Rwanda, and “amputated” it by transferring Kinyarwanda-speaking districts to their colonies in Congo and Uganda. By the time of the fall of Hutu Power in July 1994, traditional Hutu claims to the north-west extended beyond the rest of Rwanda and now spread outside its borders as well. Hutu Power took its genocidal violence into neighbouring countries and attacked their Tutsi minorities. As Rick Orth has noted, they “not only continued to kill Tutsis in Rwanda but also targeted Banyarwanda Tutsis living in Eastern Congo”. There, Hutu militias ranged across the Kivu provinces, massacred the local Tutsi cattle herders, and penetrated the Masisi plateau in an attempt “to eliminate the Banyamasisi Tutsi”. Prunier explains that in this way they could create “a kind of ‘Hutuland’ which could be either a base for the reconquest of Rwanda or, if that failed, a new Rwanda outside the old one”.¹⁶

A brief comparison of three twentieth century genocides shows that the history of the Nazi Holocaust includes warning signs that throw light on subsequent and possibly future cases. Along with violent racism or religious prejudice, obsessions with antiquity, agriculture and expansionism may often become signposts to genocide.

16 Richard Orth, “Rwanda’s Hutu Extremist Insurgency: An Eyewitness Perspective”, in Susan E. Cook, ed., *Genocide in Cambodia and Rwanda: New Perspectives* (New Brunswick [NJ], 2006), 224; Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis*, 381.

Discussion questions

1. Although these genocides occurred in different social and historical contexts, what are the similarities and differences among them, according to Professor Kiernan?
2. What would be the benefit to taking a broad-based thematic approach to the study of genocide as opposed to analysing each occurrence individually?
3. How can the distinguishing characteristics of genocidal ideology defined by Professor Kiernan be applied to genocides other than the Holocaust, Rwanda or Cambodia?
4. To what extent could the feeling of economic and social insecurity create the preconditions for the development of genocidal ideology? In what ways can education help prevent irrational fear?
5. What intergovernmental mechanisms would be necessary to identify and act upon the warning signs of an impending genocide?



4. The Shoah: A Survivor's Memory— the World's Legacy



Deportees are separated from their families and belongings upon arrival at the extermination camp, Auschwitz-Birkenau. Some were murdered immediately, while others were condemned to forced labour.

Photo: Courtesy of the Yad Vashem Photo Archives



Photo: Michel DIEUZAIDE, Paris

Simone Veil

Simone Veil was 16 years old when she and her family were deported from France to concentration camps in Auschwitz-Birkenau and Bergen-Belsen, where most of them perished. Madame Veil has held a number of public offices in France, including Minister of Health, Social Affairs and Family, fighting to defend the rights of women, prisoners, orphans and children. In 1979, she became the first President of the newly elected European Parliament, a position that she held until 1982. She also served as President of the French Council for Integration in 1997 and became a member of the Constitutional Council in 1998.

From 2000 to 2007, Simone Veil served as President of the Foundation for the Memory of the Shoah. Since 2003, she has chaired the Board of Directors of the Trust Fund for Victims at the International Criminal Court. On 28 January 2007, Madame Veil delivered the keynote address at the observance of the second universal International Day of Commemoration in memory of the victims of the Holocaust that was held in the United Nations General Assembly Hall. Simone Veil has received many awards in recognition of her lifelong fight for human rights and was elected to the French Academy on November 2008.

The Shoah: A Survivor's Memory— the World's Legacy

by *Simone Veil*

Honorary President of the Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Shoah,
Paris (France)

As a deportee and survivor of the concentration camps, I believe it is my duty to talk about the Shoah and continuously explain to the younger generations, our nations' public opinion-makers and our politicians how six million men and women, including one-and-one-half million children, died simply because they were born Jewish.

Five years ago, the Council of Europe decided to organize a European Day in memory of the Holocaust and for the prevention of crimes against humanity. The Council selected 27 January, the day a unit of Soviet soldiers arrived at Auschwitz. On the premises, these soldiers found only ghosts, a few thousand dying, terrified people, left behind because the SS¹ thought that hunger, thirst, the cold or disease would do their job for them more quickly. Ten days earlier, most of the survivors had been forced to walk away from the camp, in the snow, risking execution at every step. These were the "death marches", where so many of our comrades succumbed.

1 The "Schutzstaffel", or "SS", was the elitist paramilitary organization within the Nazi party tasked with implementing the security and population policies of the Third Reich, and in particular the mass systematic murder of Jews, known as the Final Solution. Its main modes of operation were repression, terror and murder.

On the first of November 2005, the United Nations decided to institute an “International Day of Commemoration in memory of the victims of the Holocaust”, thus remaining true to its founding principles. It was a highly symbolic decision for this institution, which was born out of the ruins and ashes of the Second World War. We speak not of an image, but of a reality. It was in a European country, long admired for its philosophies and its musicians, that the decision was made to gas and burn millions of men, women and children in crematory ovens. Their ashes also rest at the bottom of graves in the Ukraine, Poland, Lithuania, Belarus and elsewhere. These were graves that the Jews had to dig with their own hands, before being sent into them by the bullets of the Einsatzgruppen and then burned, in an attempt to erase all traces of the crimes.

With this decision, which today involves the entire world, the United Nations reminds us of the specific and universal character of the Shoah—the planned extermination meant to eliminate an entire people—the Jewish people. This objective was largely attained and flouted the very foundations of our humanity.

For those who had been deported, including myself, there is not one day that goes by that we do not think of the Shoah. More than the beatings, the exhaustion, the hunger, the cold or the fatigue, it is the humiliations that remain, to this day, the worst in our memories. We no longer had names, just a number tattooed on the arm that served as identification. What also haunts us is the memory of those from whom we were brutally separated upon our arrival in the camp and who, we were told shortly afterwards, were led directly to the gas chambers.

I was deported with my mother and sister to Auschwitz in April 1944. After spending one week in Drancy, a transit camp for French Jews, we were piled for three terrible days into sealed animal wagons, practically without food, without water, and without knowing our destination. My father and brother were deported to Kaunas in Lithuania in a convoy of 850 men, of which only about 20 survived.

We never found out the fate of the other men, including my father and brother.

We arrived at Auschwitz in the middle of the night. Everything was done to terrify us: blinding searchlights, the barking dogs of the SS, the deportees dressed like convicts that dragged us from the wagons.

Dr. Mengele, the SS master of selection, decided who would enter the camp and who would be led directly to the gas chambers. Miraculously, the three of us entered the camp.

We were working more than 12 hours a day on excavation work that proved to be mostly useless. We were barely fed. But our fate was not the worst. In the summer of 1944, 435,000 Jews arrived from Hungary. As soon as they got off the train the major-

ity of them were taken to the gas chamber. For those of us who knew what awaited them, it was a vision of horror. I still remember their faces, these women carrying their children, these masses ignorant of their destiny. This is the worse thing I had witnessed in Auschwitz.

I still remember their faces, these women carrying their children, these masses ignorant of their destiny. This is the worse thing I had witnessed in Auschwitz.

In July, my mother, my sister and I were fortunate to go to a small camp where the work and discipline were less harsh. And on the evening of 18 January 1945, we left the camp, forced to march for more than 70 kilometres under the menace of the SS rifles. After two days of waiting in Gleiwitz in a huge camp, we were piled into open air wagons, crossing through Czechoslovakia, Austria and Germany, all the way to the Bergen-Belsen camp. When we arrived, nearly half of us were dead from cold and hunger. At Bergen-Belsen, there were neither gas chambers nor selections. Instead, typhus, the cold and hunger killed, in just a few months, tens of thousands of those who were deported.

Finally, on 15 April, we were liberated by the British army. I can still see the horrified faces of the soldiers who, looking from their tanks discovered the bodies mounted on the side of the road and the staggering skeletons that we had become. There were no cries of joy on our part—only silence and tears. I thought of my mother, who had died one month before of exhaustion and typhus. During the weeks that followed liberation, many more of us died due to the lack of medical care.

I can still see the horrified faces of the soldiers who [...] discovered the bodies mounted on the side of the road and the staggering skeletons that we had become.

When I returned home to France with my sister, the country had been liberated for months. Nobody wanted to listen to talk of the deportations, of what we had seen and lived through. As for the Jews who had not been deported, about three-quarters of the Jews living in France at that time, the majority could not bear listening to us. Others preferred not knowing. It is true that we were not aware of the horrible nature of our stories. Thus it was among ourselves, those of us whom had been deported, that we spoke about the camps. Even today, it nourishes our spirit, and I would even say our conversations, because in an extraordinary way, when we speak of the camps, we have to laugh in order not to cry.

The Shoah was not just what happened at Auschwitz. It covered the entire European continent in blood. The process of dehumanization inspires an inexhaustible reflection on the conscience and dignity of men, reminding us that the worst is always possible.

Despite the pledge so often expressed, of “never again”, our warnings were in vain. After the Cambodian massacres, it is Africa that has paid the greatest tribute to the follies of genocide over the past 15 years. After Rwanda, it is Darfur and its dramatic death toll: 200,000 dead and nearly 2 million refugees. It is time to find

solutions so that the resolutions and principles of the United Nations will finally be respected in all conflict situations.

Shifting from yesterday to today, I cannot help but discuss those who now say that the Holocaust never happened, who deny the reality of the Shoah and call for the destruction of Israel. We now know the extent to which a nuclear-armed Iran is truly worrisome and how urgent it is for this country to return to the fold of the international community by respecting the laws established by the United Nations and the nuclear non-proliferation treaty to which it is a signatory.²

At the core of radical Islam are profoundly worrisome calls for the destruction of Israel, the ancestral land of the Jews that has become a land of refuge for many survivors of the Shoah. In saying that the Shoah is a lie perpetuated by the Jews to justify the creation of Israel, they breached the truth to justify their will to destroy this State. This denial of the Holocaust, used purely for political gain, permits them to justify their efforts to put an end to the State of Israel. This new denial finds substantial resonance with fanatic and ignorant spirits. New communication technologies are used today, amongst other ways, to spread these harmful ideas, especially to young people, some of whom become convinced that the Shoah never occurred despite all proof to the contrary. Let's hope that the disclosures and publicity surrounding the historical record contained in the Arolsen archives will convince them, if they are willing to believe the archives. Let us also hope that the creation of a Palestinian State next to an Israeli State, each living in peace within its borders according to the terms of a fair negotiation, will put an end to the campaigns waged against the existence of Israel.

Facing the question of the remembrance of the Shoah and the existence of the State of Israel, the international community and individual States must assume their responsibility. They must also

2 The Islamic Republic of Iran signed the Treaty of Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons when it was concluded on 1 July 1968.

take the necessary steps to fight against other genocides, which must be identified and whose victims must be heard. Those who have committed or commit mass crimes must be judged and sanctioned.

Beyond the States and the institutions, there remains the share of responsibility that falls upon each of us. The French people were reminded of this at a ceremony held on 18 January 2007 at the Panthéon in Paris, when President Jacques Chirac, at my suggestion, paid homage to the Righteous of France. The “Righteous” are millions of non-Jewish men and women honoured by Yad Vashem, the Holocaust Martyrs’ and Heroes’ Remembrance Authority, for having saved Jews from deportation during the Second World War. In France, 76,000 Jews were deported. But the remaining three-quarters of Jews who were saved owe their salvation partially to the thousand of Righteous who helped them and embodied the honour of our country.

The Righteous showed us that there will always be men and women, of all origins and in all countries, capable of the best. Based on the example of the Righteous, I would like to believe that moral strength and individual conscience can win.

In conclusion, and rejoicing that resolution 61/255, adopted in January 2007 and condemning Holocaust denial, was so overwhelmingly approved by the United Nations General Assembly, I wholeheartedly wish that this day, created by the United Nations, will inspire all to respect one another and reject violence, anti-Semitism, racism and hatred, as well as all other forms of discrimination.

The Shoah is “our” memory, but it is also “your” legacy.

Discussion questions

1. In her paper, Simone Veil talks about massacres and genocides in Cambodia, Rwanda and Darfur. What lessons can be learned from the Holocaust to understand and combat ongoing genocides, and prevent future ones?
2. In light of the author's personal experience of the Holocaust, what role did humiliation play in the Nazis' strategy to exterminate the Jews?
3. What are the possible solutions Madame Veil mentions to help fight Holocaust denial? What could the international community do to combat Holocaust denial?
4. How does the author describe the reactions of people to the testimonies of Holocaust survivors right after the Second World War? How does this demonstrate the importance of these testimonies, still today?
5. As the Righteous of France demonstrated, to what extent is the responsibility of individuals, beyond States and institutions, vital in helping to combat genocide? How can education foster a greater sense of individual responsibility?

5. The Holocaust as a Guidepost for Genocide Detection and Prevention in Africa



On 29 January 2008, United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon and his wife, Yoo Soon-taek, laying a wreath at the site of mass graves at the Kigali Memorial Centre in Rwanda, where over 250,000 victims of the 1994 genocide are buried.

UN Photo



Professor Edward Kissi

Born in Ghana, West Africa, Edward Kissi has been an Assistant Professor of history in the Department of Africana Studies at the University of South Florida (United States) since August 2003. Dr. Kissi was an Andrew W. Mellon post-doctoral fellow in the Genocide Studies Program at Yale University (United States) from January 1998 to December 1999. He has published a number of articles on the history and politics of famine in Ethiopia, genocide and human rights in several academic journals. He participated in a seminar organized by the Holocaust and the United Nations Outreach Programme on 8 November 2007: "From Kristallnacht to Today: How Do We Combat Hatred?" where he addressed the role of regional and local actors in the implementation of the doctrine "Responsibility to Protect".

The Holocaust as a Guidepost for Genocide Detection and Prevention in Africa

by Professor Edward Kissi

Assistant Professor of African History, University of South Florida
(United States)

We must remember and draw lessons from the crimes committed against the Jews during the Holocaust if we are to prevent similar tragedies in the future. Africa should be particularly vigilant of these dangers in light of its recent past.

Events in Africa since the genocide in Rwanda in 1994, suggest that the deliberate targeting of stereotyped groups, with the expressed intention of annihilating them, continues. This reinforces two salient lessons about the behaviour of governments and the reactions of society to genocide. First, a government in power determined to pursue a programme of annihilation of particular groups, in the name of monopolizing power or creating a supposedly “pure and perfect” society, often succeeds in doing so. The ideologies and actions of the Nazi regime and the Hutu-led government of Rwanda illuminate this sad fact. There are also a number of players and factors that are compounding the violence against the mainly “non-Arab” ethnic groups in Darfur that could threaten the existence of

these groups if steps are not taken soon to protect them. Second, there may be something lurking at the core of humanity that either attracts human beings to violence or makes them indifferent to violence against others. Tepid responses of society to the fate of the Jews of Europe in the midst of the Second World War, and to the Tutsis during the Rwandan genocide of 1994, highlight this.

New approaches to genocide prevention may be required, such as practical, bottom-up, local and subregional responses, to replace existing top-down, international bureaucratic mechanisms.

While verbal protests might point to a reservoir of decency and goodwill in humanity that could be mobilized to prevent genocide, new approaches to genocide prevention may be required, such as practical, bottom-up, local and subregional responses, to replace existing top-down, international bureaucratic mechanisms.

One such approach might be a “rescue operation”, negotiated and assisted by local and subregional actors, aimed at removing the target groups from the genocidal environment. An example of this was the successful removal, by land

and air, of imperilled Ethiopian Jews from Ethiopia to Israel, in the 1980s. The need for quick intervention was a valuable lesson learned from the Holocaust, when “international actors”—the powerful and resourceful Allied Powers—failed to act to save or rescue European Jews in Nazi Germany. Certainly, a successful “rescue” or “negotiated exodus” of endangered groups is contingent on the willingness of local and regional actors, such as the Sudan, in the Ethiopian case, to assist in the rescue process, or Israel, as another state or society, neighbouring or distant, to accept the threatened group. That willingness could be easily generated when individuals and the rest of society come to see rescue as an important lifeline to humanity in peril, and regard indifference to the plight of the vulnerable as a form of bystanding similar to being a perpetrator of genocide.

The apologies that nations and former heads of governments continue to offer for not doing enough to save the victims of genocide point to the consequences on an individual and society of being a bystander. Memories of standing by while fellow human beings are being slaughtered can traumatize individuals who witness genocide but who might have helped to prevent it. This often guarantees bystanders a prolonged bruised conscience for their lack of ethical behaviour and the outrage of future generations for having done nothing to prevent or stop the violence.

The twenty-first century requires a “global war on genocide” with as much commitment of resources and attention as the ongoing “global war on terrorism”. Success in a global war on genocide will, undoubtedly, depend on genocide early warning systems that can detect signs that a genocide is being perpetrated.

1. Signs of genocide

Comparative studies of genocide since the Holocaust have yielded important information about the early-warning signs of an impending genocide. These signs include radio broadcasts of hate speeches and the demonization of target groups (as in the case of Rwanda). Massive cross-border movements of particular groups to neighbouring States (as in ongoing movements of people from Darfur to Chad) could be a sign that a form of targeted persecution of these groups is occurring in the groups' countries of residence. Prevention of persecuted groups from fleeing, especially when marked by physical killings of members of the group, betrays an existing or developing intent, on the part of the persecutors, to destroy that group. Protracted conflicts over power and control of the State, between governments and armed groups, in which none of the combatants demonstrates any desire to settle their grievances peacefully, can create a genocidal situation. That situation existed in Ethiopia, from 1977 to 1991, when Ethiopia's military government and its armed opponents fought over issues of power, secession and ethnic self-determination. The same situation exists in Darfur, where the Government of the Sudan

and armed rebel movements have been fighting since February 2003, over issues of power, regional autonomy, ethnic self-determination and the distribution of development resources. A genocidal situation existed in Rwanda, from October 1990 to March 1994, caused by armed warfare between the Hutu-controlled government and the Tutsi-led anti-government armed group, the Rwanda Patriotic Front, over similar issues. As we now know, genocidal situations can easily degenerate into an actual genocide.

2. Lessons of the Holocaust

As lessons from the Holocaust affirm, perpetrators of genocide often use the cover of war to pursue a planned programme of annihilation of particular groups. The Allied Powers failed to detect overt and subtle warning signs that the destruction of the Jews of Europe constituted a key part of Nazi war aims in the Second World War or they simply ignored them. As a result, the Allied Powers appeared to have been more interested in defeating Nazi Germany than saving the Jews ignorant, perhaps, of the fact that by the time victory came, much of the hidden Nazi objective of exterminating the Jews of Europe would have been accomplished. The targeted killings of the Tutsi by Hutu extremists in Rwanda also occurred in the context of a protracted war in which negotiated ceasefire and peace conferences appeared to be the top peace goals of international mediators. Hence, protracted wars of attrition in Africa should be carefully monitored for any systematic killing of particular groups in an actual genocide disguised as a domestic power struggle. Acting on these warning signs at their early stages are the best ways of preventing an impending genocide in the context of war.

Furthermore, the Nazis aspired to create a broader German Reich, or a Greater Germany based on openly expressed ideas of merging lands, outside of Germany, inhabited by German-speaking peoples. Nazi utopian aspirations also included hopes of acquiring and ruling over wider territory in the name of creating living space for Germans. An African continent with arbitrarily drawn “colonial boundaries”,

that have restructured ethnic landscapes, has much to fear from these Nazi-type territorial ambitions. People who live in the Horn of Africa region must assume the moral responsibility to oppose the lingering idea of “Greater Somalia” that has since 1962 inspired Somali irredentists to seek annexation of lands in Kenya, Ethiopia and Djibouti inhabited by Somali ethnic groups. A Somali irredentism in the Horn of Africa, on the order of the German *anschluss* (merger) and *lebensraum* (living space) in Eastern and Central Europe in the course of the Second World War may be unlikely. However, the Holocaust and the genocide in Rwanda signal that sometimes the unimaginable could be triggered by a few with tanks and utopian ideas. However, not every killing in the context of war, openly expressed prejudices and stereotypes about particular groups suggest an ongoing or pending genocide.¹

The Holocaust and the genocide in Rwanda signal that sometimes the unimaginable could be triggered by a few with tanks and utopian ideas.

The Holocaust should also alert Africans, and African Member States of the United Nations, to that genocide’s other notable victims besides European Jews: homosexuals. Cultures that inspire homophobic sentiments can be potential seedbeds of genocide, and should be monitored.

3. Responsibility to protect vs. obligation to prevent

Though not sufficient to predict a genocide, studies of the Holocaust and the genocide in Rwanda have galvanized world opinion towards a commitment to prevent genocide or intervene in one to save lives. During the World Summit in 2005, world leaders called for the acceptance of a universal principle of the responsibility to protect civilians from crimes against humanity when governments are unwilling to do so.

1 Edward Kissi, *Revolution and Genocide in Ethiopia and Cambodia* (Lanham, Maryland, Lexington Books, 2006).

This is another laudable “universal principle”, among many since 1945. But whose responsibility is it to protect target groups? And what might be the best form of protection so that the world does not witness another genocide unfold?

Given the mixed history of international responses to genocide, including “protective” missions to save civilians, from the Holocaust, to United Nations safe-havens that did not stop genocide in Srebrenica in Eastern Europe, to the unfolding genocide and crimes against humanity in Darfur, the best protection is, in fact, prevention. And a top-down “United States-led” or “United Nations-mandated”; “armed humanitarian interventions” or “sanctions regime” might not be the best or practical way to implement this commitment on the African continent.

Past genocides suggest that waiting for outside intervention or an “international” responsibility to protect threatened groups can be lengthy, elusive, and costly in lives. The success of “responsibility to protect”, as a moral principle, can best be implemented through local and subregional endeavours with some foreign help.

The recent history of regional protective actions to safeguard civilians has been more encouraging than their international alternatives. With some help from the United States, the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group [ECOMOG] stopped armed conflict and violence in Liberia and Sierra Leone in the 1990s. Proximity, familiarity with a region, and the possibility that nations in the region, such as the case in West Africa, can easily organize rescue missions to save the targeted, provide better, quicker and more efficient protection.

Subregional commitments to a responsibility to protect civilians from crimes against humanity means there should be special offices for the detection and reporting of early-warning signs within these regional organs. It is possible that subregional interventions could be abused by regional powers. However, this possibility could be

minimized by granting a role to the United Nations in a new sub-regional genocide prevention and civilian protection initiative. United Nations logistical support and financial incentives can make service in regional intervention forces appealing and curb the misuse of such interventions by regional powers. African countries can prepare their national populations to accept possible deaths of their troops while providing a moral service to protect groups in their neighbourhood with whom they have cultural affinities and in a region whose stability is essential to their security.

Armed conflicts between governments and armed anti-government groups have been the greatest causes of crimes against civilians in contemporary Africa. State leaders bent on monopolizing power or using it to determine the distribution of resources exact retribution on presumed civilian sympathizers of the state's armed opponents. The history of such conflicts since the 1970s in Ethiopia, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Rwanda and the Sudan has revealed that beligerent armed "liberation" or "militia" groups in Africa are not innocent victims of state terror. Governments and armed rebel groups are unlikely to protect civilian populations presumed to oppose them. Thus, in Darfur, one may need to go beyond a commitment to protect civilian populations from crimes against humanity such as the burning of villages and the raping of women. It is essential for "world leaders" (broadly conceived to include leaders of African nations) to assume another commitment to be balanced in their condemnations of the perpetrators.

If one is to condemn the State of the Sudan, then armed opponents of the Sudanese Government such as the Sudan Liberation Army (SLA) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) should be condemned in the same manner. Not condemning the actions of the SLA and JEM (now called the National Redemption Front), that could potentially engulf the entire Horn of Africa subregion in genocidal violence, is to condone and encourage the morally hazardous behaviour of these armed non-state groups.

Besides subregional protection efforts, it is also necessary to situate a principle of “responsibility to protect” in a wider framework of local genocide prevention efforts. It is now time to also use culturally-familiar institutions, with their inherent values, to develop a regime of indigenous moral responsibilities to oppose genocide and genocidal rhetoric. Human rights activists in every African country should establish their own local councils of “Elders” and “Community

leaders”. These Elders and Community leaders command enormous respect in their local cultures. Using their roles in society, and invoking forgotten customs that once outlawed genocidal ideas, they can work outside of state frameworks to make prevention of genocide and all forms of mass murder a customary obligation once again. After all, success of genocide, anywhere, depends on the willingness of local populations to accept or condone the physical destruction of a particular group among them. If perpetrators in Africa have to contend with opposition from influential local elders or intervention from

Besides subregional protection efforts, it is also necessary to situate a principle of “responsibility to protect” in a wider framework of local genocide prevention efforts.

subregional countries to rescue or protect the victims, perpetrators of genocide may rethink their desires. And if a courageous and conscientious society makes it impossible for perpetrators to succeed, a costly international responsibility to protect civilians, while genocide is under way, would be unnecessary.

4. Perpetrator mentality

States and leaders who commit or support genocide have come to believe that they could proceed without challenge from their people, neighbours and the rest of the world. Here, again, the lessons of the Holocaust are noteworthy in their most negative sense. The manner in which the Holocaust occurred, especially the tepid international response at the time, made subsequent genocides more likely. Post-

Holocaust perpetrators of genocide appear to have taken inspiration from the Holocaust. They have reproduced its core elements and imagery and taken cues from the lack of organized local and international rescue or protection efforts. As Alison Des Forges reveals in her book, *Leave None To Tell the Story* (1999),² Rwanda's assassinated president Juvenal Habyarimana and his "intimates" seemed to have admired Adolf Hitler and the Third Reich. Habyarimana had in his residence and possibly viewed "copies of films about Hitler and Nazism". Hutu nationalists in Rwanda imitated other methods of the Third Reich. What has become known as the "Ten Commandments of the Hutu", partly exhorted Hutus to maintain the purity of their identity by refraining from marrying Tutsi women and men. That is the closest the architects and supporters of genocide in Rwanda came to reproducing, in that country, in December 1990, the infamous Nuremberg Laws enacted by the Nazi regime in Germany, in September 1935, with the same object of maintaining Aryan "purity" through proscriptions of marriages between Jews and Germans. Hutu perpetrators of genocide were also close to the Nazis in the manner in which they devalued their Tutsi victims. For the Nazis, the Jews were "vermin" to be exterminated from Europe's industrial societies and the rest of the world. For the Hutu perpetrators, the Tutsi were "cockroaches" to be sought and killed in Rwanda's agrarian society. Announcers on Hutu-controlled radio stations, used to incite the genocide, brazenly exhorted their listeners to kill all Tutsi and moderate Hutus without bothering about international opinion or response. Des Forges is, therefore, correct in arguing that Hutu perpetrators "had learned that this kind of slaughter would be tolerated by the international community".

Although some ordinary and uninformed people help to carry out genocide, those who initiate and plan genocide are not ordinary and uninformed people. Recent planners of genocide in Africa have been well-educated elites who have a remarkable understanding of

2 Alison Des Forges, *Leave None To Tell the Story* (New York, Human Rights Watch, 1999).

international politics and the operations of international organizations. They have also read about the fate of the Jews in the Second World War. In post-colonial Africa, elite initiators of genocide can easily portray any international interventions as another example of foreign meddling or neo-colonialism. That charge resonates on the African continent. It derives its force and appeal from the memories of European colonial rule, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; the failed United Nations intervention in the Congo and subsequent cold war intrigues on the continent in the 1960s. These facts encourage informed perpetrators of genocide in Africa to believe that they can get away with murder. Thus, new strategies of genocide prevention in Africa that do not depend on “international” actors need to be developed.

5. Conclusion: Holocaust and genocide education

Genocide prevention and civilian protection strategies in Africa should also include Holocaust and genocide education. The United Nations can provide African countries with video footages of the Holocaust and other genocides with local language translations to be shown in all rural and urban areas. Holocaust remembrance in Africa should come with State-mandated teaching of genocide in all schools and military academies to renew appreciation of and respect for others. Such educational programmes should be promoted at the early school-going age before genocidal mentalities develop. Meaningful Holocaust and genocide education in Africa should be placed in the context of familiar historical memories and a broader discussion of one of the Holocaust's most important lessons: the painful price of prejudice. Those memories include the history of the slave trade, participation of African chiefs and merchants in it, and annihilation of particular ethnic groups in the name of progress and pacification in Africa under European colonial rule. These crimes, etched in the collective memory of Africans, originated from the same human prejudices and disregard for human life that devalued the humanity of European Jews and produced the Holocaust.

Help from abroad boosts morale. But, ultimately, solutions to genocide and other forms of mass killing in Africa must come from within. To be seen to be solving one's own problems, and not making them the "responsibility" of others, is the best expression of independence.

Discussion questions

1. Why might local and regional genocide prevention measures work in Africa better than international approaches? What are some of the obstacles that prevent effective international intervention in African armed conflicts?
2. Comparative studies of genocide since the Holocaust have yielded important information about the early warning signs of an impending genocide. What are these warning signs and how could an early warning system be developed to raise regional and international alarms?
3. What parallels can be drawn between the Holocaust and genocide in Africa?
4. Why should the historical lessons of the Holocaust be incorporated into the educational curriculum of African schools? What can African schoolchildren gain from learning about the tragedies of the Second World War?

6. Hatred and Humanity



Allied forces liberated Buchenwald Concentration Camp in Germany on 16 April 1945. Elie Wiesel, the Nobel Laureate, is on the second bunk from bottom, seventh from the left.

Photo: Pvt. H. Miller, courtesy of Corbis-Bettmann

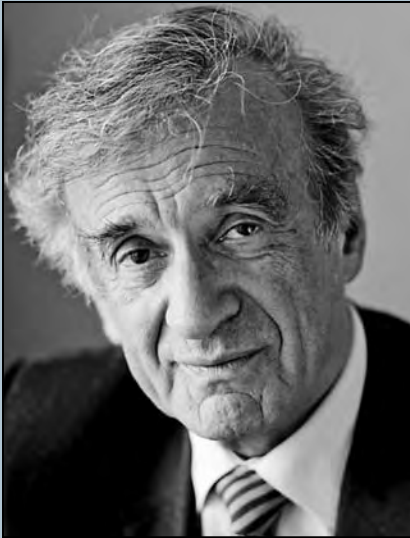


Photo: Sergey Bermaniev

Elie Wiesel

Elie Wiesel, Holocaust survivor, Nobel Laureate, writer and human rights activist, was born in the Transylvania town of Sighet. Professor Wiesel was 15 years old when he and his family were deported to the death camp Auschwitz-Birkenau. His experience there is recounted in the internationally acclaimed memoir *La Nuit* or *Night* published in 1958. Professor Wiesel has been the Andrew W. Mellon Professor in the Humanities at Boston University (United States) since 1976. Elie Wiesel and his wife, Marion, established The Elie Wiesel Foundation for Humanity soon after he was awarded the 1986 Nobel Prize for Peace. The Foundation's mission, rooted in the memory of the Holocaust, is to combat indifference, intolerance and injustice. A United Nations Messenger of Peace since 1998, Professor Wiesel has received numerous awards for his literary achievements and human rights activities.

Hatred and Humanity

by Elie Wiesel

Nobel Laureate
President of the Elie Wiesel Foundation for Humanity
United Nations Messenger of Peace

Why hate? Why yield to its sombre and implacable force for which, locked on itself, manifests its will to destroy for reasons that bring embarrassment and despair to the human condition? What good may derive from hatred? Is there, can there be nobility in its realm? Has a work of art been produced by hatred? Literature and hatred, spirituality and hatred, beauty—can they go together? Knut Hamsen and Louis-Ferdinand Céline were great novelists, but their anti-Semitic writings are poor literature. Hatred is reductive; it cheapens. The popular saying that “love is blind” is wrong. Hatred is blind—and blinding. There is no light IN hatred, no exit FROM it. Homer’s Iliad opens with anger: “Sing Achilles the anger of the gods”. Anger yes, hatred no. All wars begin in the hearts of men, not on battlefields.

Why then is there still so much hatred around, in so many places, and what is its role in history?

In the collective memory of humankind, most societies have been ruled by something else than hatred. Ancient Greece celebrated wisdom, Rome glorified authority, Christianity emphasized love even in its fanaticism, Islam preached fanaticism even in its remarkable overtures to outside beliefs, and Judaism pleaded for

justice and truth even in exile. Scripture mentions a “Book of God’s wars”; but it was forgotten. Was it because it could have inspired hatred? Hatred accompanies fanaticism and Scripture praises only two fanatics for their fanaticism: Pinhas the priest and Elijah the prophet.

Hatred as symbol of its power became a force and could be found only in religious or political dictatorships. To doubt there

One could say: all this happened once upon a time, not now. Wrong. Today fanaticism has become or re-became a source of danger, the gravest of all.

meant to be despised, condemned and punished. Where democracy is suppressed, the intent was equivalent to action. Of Erasmus, Stefan Zweig wrote: “He loved many things we love, poetry and philosophy, books and art, languages and peoples, and without distinguishing one from the others he loved the whole world. The only thing he truly hated? Fanaticism.” Erasmus and Montaigne could function only where Christianity had not attained absolute rule.

Both were made to suffer but neither was hated. “Hate thy enemy” was an imperative only when human liberty was totally stifled and eradicated, at times when to think differently meant to be different, estranged and thus to be less worthy of respect, compassion and help. Fanaticism inspires fear. The great Descartes withdrew his book on science because he feared he might endure Galileo’s fate.

But then, one could say: all this happened once upon a time, not now. Wrong. Today fanaticism has become or re-became a source of danger, the gravest of all. For the peril is not a new one. The twentieth century was plagued by two forms, two modes of fanaticism: one was political, lodged in Moscow and the other racist, with its central headquarters in Berlin. Their aim was global conquest; to attain it, both sacrificed scores of millions of human lives. Auschwitz and the Gulag must not be compared—I do not believe in Holocaust-related analogies—but they do have things in common. Both fanatically

distrusted the individual's otherness and abolished personal freedom, and both produced hatred.

Those of us who naively thought that the defeat of fascism and the downfall of communism resulted in the disappearance of anti-Semitism, racism and intolerance were mistaken. Anti-Semitism is on the rise again, racists are still vocal and active, and intolerance has resurrected. And the new one is not new. Religious in nature, it penetrates the daily news just as it dominated the Middle Ages during the Crusades and the Inquisition.

What is the seduction of excessive intolerance which surfaces in fanaticism? It gives the fanatic a sense of superiority. He thinks he knows better than everybody. He accepts no doubts. He is always sure that he is right.

Hence he avoids dialogue. What's the point in listening to views that must be wrong? Ultimately, the fanatic wants the entire world to be a prison. He wishes all people to be his prisoners. The keys are in his hands alone. Eventually, he puts God himself in prison. To oppose him is to liberate not only man but God Himself.

Please see the next page for discussion questions

Discussion questions

1. Elie Wiesel has authored over forty books, in which—among other themes—he described the Holocaust and other human tragedies as a call for action and empathy. Against this backdrop, how does he approach the theme of hatred?
2. According to Wiesel, how did hatred manifest itself throughout the twentieth century and which underlying motives does he identify?
3. What kinds of threats do acts of intolerance, like anti-Semitism, pose in the world today? Which specific examples are most significant to you?
4. How can individual, local and collective activism address the root causes of intolerance?
5. Should there be limits to freedom of speech? If so, what should they be?



7. In the Shadow of the Holocaust



On 17 November 1993, the first session of the International Tribunal on War Crimes in Former Yugoslavia opened in The Hague (Netherlands). Carl-August Fleischhauer (behind podium at left), Under-Secretary-General for Legal Affairs, opened the meeting. The Tribunal's 11 judges are seated behind the far table.

UN Photo

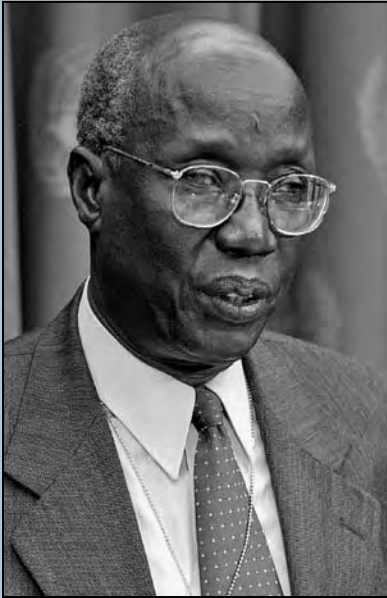


Photo: UN Photo/Evan Schneider

Francis Deng

Francis Deng (Sudan) is the Special Adviser of the United Nations Secretary-General on the Prevention of Genocide. He began his work at the United Nations as a Human Rights Officer from 1967 to 1972, after which he served as his country's Ambassador to the Nordic countries, Canada and the United States, as well as Minister of State for Foreign Affairs. From 1992 to 2004, Mr. Deng resumed his work with the United Nations as Representative of the Secretary-General on Internally Displaced Persons. Mr. Deng also founded and directed the Sudan Peace Support Project based at the United States Institute of Peace. As a scholar, he held the posts of Research Professor at the Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies, Wilhelm Fellow at the Center for International Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Distinguished Visiting Scholar at the John Kluge Center of the Library of Congress. Mr. Deng was also a senior fellow at Brookings Institution, where he founded and directed the Africa Project for 12 years. He has taught at several universities, including the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, New York University, Yale Law School and Columbia Law School. In addition, he has authored and edited over 30 books on human rights, history and politics, and has received numerous awards for his fight for peace.

In the Shadow of the Holocaust

by Francis Deng

Special Adviser to the United Nations Secretary-General on the Prevention of Genocide

1. Setting the context of genocidal conflicts

Genocide is the worst manifestation of human brutality against fellow human beings. And the Holocaust has become the most horrific demonstration of that brutality. Several reasons account for its uniqueness in the annals of genocide.

First, it is linked to a deep-rooted history of prejudice against the Jews, fuelled by the belief, which, until recently, prevailed in the Christian world, that they are cursed for having caused the crucifixion and death of Jesus Christ. The wrongful death of a man who had come to reform the religious and moral values and practices of his own people became paradoxically the rationale for the indiscriminate condemnation and persecution of his people for nearly two thousand years.

The second reason the Holocaust stands out as the gravest case of genocide was the scale at which it was perpetrated, leading to the extermination of some 5 million to 6 million innocent men, women and children.

The third reason the Holocaust has a unique place in the history of genocide is that it became eventually linked to the most destructive war the world had ever experienced.

These reasons account for the outcry of “Never again”, which has tragically been echoed again and again. However, recurrent genocides have made a mockery of “Never again”.

The world said “Never again” after the Cambodian genocide¹ of the 1970s, then again in the aftermath of the Rwanda genocide in 1994, and yet again after the massacre of Srebrenica in Bosnia. The world is now witnessing a tragic situation in the Darfur region of the Sudan, which some have called genocide and others have given alternative labels that are ironically considered not less heinous than genocide.

In this brief discussion paper, I want to make several points: First, I argue that while the Holocaust has unique characteristics, genocide is a common human tragedy that has occurred far too many times in the past and, if the root causes are not well understood and addressed comprehensively, is almost certain to occur again in the future.

Second, I am concerned about overemphasis on narrow legalistic, definitional labels that only generate controversy, deflect constructive dialogue, and undermine effective response.

Third, I argue that there is a potential Hitler in all human situations and that unless we address what produces a Hitler, we will not be able to eradicate him within us.

Fourth and finally, I see the zero-sum genocidal conflict of identities as rooted in flawed perceptions of identities that distort the shared elements and need to be reconsidered and restructured to forge a common ground of inclusivity and mutual acceptance of differences.

1 The United Nations General Assembly resolution 57/228 A of 18 December 2002 mentions that the Assembly is “Desiring that the international community continue to respond positively in assisting efforts to investigate the tragic history of Cambodia, including responsibility for past international crimes such as acts of genocide and crimes against humanity committed during the regime of Democratic Kampuchea”.

2. The Holocaust as an extreme version of universal affliction

My first point is self-evident and does not need elaboration. If references to Cambodia, Rwanda, Srebrenica, and the many proliferating tragedies of modern times are not sufficient to make the point, the cases which Professor Ben Kiernan mentions in his paper,² citing Hitler's admiration of historical models of genocide, might add deeper historical roots. According to Kiernan, Hitler praised Arminius [Hermann] for annihilating ancient Roman legions, and "the aggressive" medieval monarch, Charlemagne, "as one of the greatest men in world history". Hitler also admired Rome's genocide of Carthage and the Spartans, whom he considered a model of how a state should "limit the number allowed to live".

Genocide [...] has occurred far too many times in the past and, if the root causes are not well understood and addressed comprehensively, is almost certain to occur again in the future.

3. The Genocide Convention and the limits of legalism

My second point builds on the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, which defines genocide as any "acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group" and includes among these acts "killing members of the group; causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; and forcefully transferring children of the group to another group". These acts can be said to be broad enough to cover many atrocities associated with the internal conflicts that have proliferated around the world since the end of the cold war. This probably

2 "Hitler, Pol Pot, and Hutu Power: Distinguishing Themes of Genocidal Ideology" by Professor Ben Kiernan is part of the Holocaust and the United Nations Outreach Programme discussion papers series.

explains the frequency with which genocide is often alleged. And yet, the legal determination of genocide has proven far more problematic than its casual use conveys.

There has been intense debate on the Genocide Convention's focus on certain categories and exclusion of others, such as political and ideological groups, for protection. Despite attempts to creatively interpret the Convention, invoking both prior international norms, the General Assembly resolution that set the process of developing the Convention in motion, and the debates in the various fora in the process, to broaden the scope, this remains a controversial area.

The gravity of this omission becomes evident once it is realized that most, if not all, cases of genocide involve some aspect of political and ideological conflict, whatever the composition of the identities of the specific groups in conflict. Although politically motivated massacres are prohibited under other international instruments, the failure to protect political and social groups constitutes what has been called the Genocide Convention's "blind spot".

Genocidal *mens rea* or criminal intent is another area in which the Convention has been a subject of intense debate. It is particularly difficult, indeed virtually impossible, to prove the intent to commit acts of genocide when large numbers of victim members of a group and victimizers are involved. Some scholars have advocated the removal of intentionality from the definition of genocide, as it is increasingly difficult to locate responsibility, given the anonymous and structural forces at work. While they do not dismiss the importance of individuals, these scholars consider it more productive to probe into the social structures that are prone to generating or preventing genocide.

With these problematic criteria, genocide is usually proven after the crime has been committed and well documented. Although prevention is prominent in the title of the Convention, undertaking preventive measures is constrained by both the difficulty of proving

intent and lack of clear enforcement mechanisms. It is, of course, in the nature of prevention that it is not easily verifiable. Success essentially means that the prevented crime and the method of preventing it are invisible. Contemporary experience indicates that even when abundant evidence reveals that genocide may be in the making, the record of action to stop it is dismally poor. That indeed was the experience of Rwanda where human rights observers had warned the world that genocide was in the making.

The Rwandan tragedy poses a series of questions from which lessons can be drawn. Despite the campaign by hate radio and public statements calling for the elimination of the demonized Tutsi population, these questions persist: Who in fact physically killed? Did those who killed intend to eliminate the group in whole or in part? And what about the rulers and officials ordering or condoning the killings, was their intention to eliminate the group or to punish them or coerce them into conforming to a particular political direction? Who then can be charged with the crime of genocide and be proven guilty beyond reasonable doubt, the standard test in criminal liability?

When I visited Rwanda shortly after the genocide in my capacity as Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General on Internally Displaced Persons, I discussed with international lawyers who were conducting preliminary investigation into the responsibility for the genocide. It became obvious to me that there would be a major discrepancy between those who must have committed acts of genocide and those who would be found responsible. My concern, shared by the investigators, was that too much faith was being placed in prosecuting and punishing individuals responsible for the genocide of close to a million members of the Tutsi ethnic group and Hutu moderates associated with them. The result of the investigation, indictments, trials and convictions would almost certainly be disappointing to the Tutsi ethnic group, who expected justice to be done. In the end, the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda

held a few individuals symbolically responsible for a genocide that must have involved thousands of perpetrators. From the start, it was feared that the possible outcome of such disappointment might be that the Tutsis would then take justice into their own hands and inflict vengeful atrocities on the Hutus. Although international justice through the International Criminal Tribunal has been paralleled by the national justice system and the traditional Gacaca trials,³ the

[...] the State, in most cases the perpetrator or condoner of genocide, is charged with the responsibility to prosecute, which makes the [Genocide] Convention virtually unenforceable.

overall reaction of the Tutsi-dominated government has been criticized as indeed revengeful, whether in terms of massacre of civilian populations or the number of detainees that languished in overcrowded prisons without trials.

One of the criticisms against the Genocide Convention is the absence of an international enforcement mechanism in the form of a criminal tribunal that would punish the perpetrators. The problem is compounded by the fact that

the State, in most cases the perpetrator or condoner of genocide, is charged with the responsibility to prosecute, which makes the Convention virtually unenforceable. Despite the commonly held belief that the determination of genocide imposes an obligation to act under article 8, which provides that any State party to the Convention “may call upon the competent organs of the United Nations to take such action under the Charter [...] as appropriate for the prevention and suppression of acts of genocide”, this does not ensure action. The situation has now been somewhat remedied by the establishment of Special Tribunals and the International Criminal Court (ICC), but the principle of subsidiary gives the state prior jurisdiction and, in many cases, without the cooperation of the

3 The Gacaca trials: A traditional and participatory method of justice rooted in the local community where victims and perpetrators share their stories. The Government of Rwanda began the trials in 2001 in order to address the large number of cases.

state, enforcement by the ICC is not practical when the accused are shielded by their governments.

Because of these conceptual and practical difficulties, this paper adopts a broader preventive perspective on the issue of genocide. Rather than look at it from the legalistic perspective of individualized criminal liability with specific intent, it approaches genocide from the perspective of identity conflicts that tend to be zero-sum and therefore inherently genocidal, and advocates the creation of a normative framework for resolving the crisis of identity that underlies these conflicts. It is becoming widely recognized that debates over what constitutes genocide detracts from the focus on causes, consequences, and the needed response to atrocities. It is worth noting that whatever constitutes “genocide”, it is the most extreme aspect of much larger identity conflicts or violence.

4. Denial and scapegoating responsibility

My final point concerns denial and placing full blame on one evildoer, “a Hitler”, using him as a scapegoat for a responsibility that must have been more broadly shared. When I first visited Germany in 1961, what struck me the most was the extent to which Hitler was universally denied. Some would argue that he was not a German, but an Austrian. He was seen as a unique embodiment of evil, thank God he was gone, and the nation was rid of that evil.

I tried to argue that it was dangerous to deny Hitler altogether, instead of trying to understand what produced a Hitler. On several occasions, people who had overheard the discussion would later approach me confidentially to express their support for my line of argument. One even intimated to me that as a young student who was active in the Youth wing of the party, he thought Hitler was the best thing that ever happened to Germany.

I am aware that this line of argument has the potential of being misunderstood as a justification for the evils of Nazi Germany, but my main point is that without understanding the root causes for the

emergence of a Hitler, that evil within us cannot be eradicated to prevent its recurrence.

5. Myth and reality in divisive identification

To the extent that genocide victimizes national, ethnic, racial or religious groups, it has the nature of zero-sum conflict of identities. The core elements of identity conflicts are: exclusive self-identification and identification of others, and the imposition of one identity to provide a shared framework, which becomes inherently discriminatory. Often, the differences between the identities concerned are not as clearly marked as they are assumed to be. I saw in former Yugoslavia, in Burundi, Rwanda and Darfur that it was not at all easy to distinguish the identities that were in conflict. In Burundi, I would address audiences in which I saw some looking Tutsi, as we have been told they look like, and some looking Hutu, with many in between I could not identify. When I later asked the Foreign Minister whether one could always tell a Tutsi from a Hutu, his response was: "Yes, but with a 35 per cent margin of error." Given the shared elements between many of these communities, hating members of the other groups inevitably involves an element of self-hate.

It should be emphasized that what causes conflict is not the mere differences, but the implications of the differences to the shaping and sharing of power, material resources, social services and development opportunities. Respect for differences and the creation of a framework of equality and dignity for all is the best way to ensure peaceful coexistence between and among groups. Usually, there are two historical memories among the communities involved. One emphasizes a history of peaceful coexistence and cooperation, where the communities intermarried and shared their happy and sad occasions. Another is one of animosities with deep historical roots.

These contradictory memories are not surprising. When people live next to one another, they must inevitably come into conflict, but by the same token, they develop conventional ways of managing

their differences. During moments of conflict, divisive memories surface, while moments of peaceful relations evolve positive memories. But most destructive is the divisive role of self-seeking political entrepreneurs who trade on manipulating group loyalties to build solidarity for their evil objectives. Prevention requires checking the machinations of these individuals before they have marked impact on the situation.

Concluding observations

To conclude, while Nazi Germany's attempt to exterminate the Jews in the country and elsewhere in Europe remains the most extreme case of genocide, it is unique only in degree and perhaps in the technological methods used. Otherwise, given the prevalence of genocidal conflicts that have deep historical roots and extend to modern times, the affliction is global. Investing in name-calling, while a legal requirement, is often futile and needs to be complemented with more practical preventive measures. Denial and scapegoating conceals the real causes and shares responsibility for atrocious crimes. Distorted identities that get manipulated into genocidal conflicts need to be addressed to forge a common ground, a shared humanity, and the dignity of all human beings, whatever their national, ethnic, racial, religious or ideological identity. While remolding attitudes about self-identification and the shared elements is a long-term project, restructuring the national identity framework to eradicate discrimination and ensure the enjoyment of all the rights of citizenship is constitutionally doable with immediate effect. It is the core of "sovereignty as responsibility" or State "responsibility to protect its population from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity", with accountability at all levels, national, regional and international.

Please see the next page for discussion questions

Discussion questions

1. Is the Holocaust unique in the history of genocide and, if so, why?
2. What are the limitations of the 1948 Genocide Convention and how can they be remedied?
3. Was Hitler solely responsible for the Holocaust or was responsibility more broadly shared, and how can the emergence of such horror be explained?
4. To what extent are the differences in zero-sum identity conflicts reflective of realities or are they constructed and mythical?
5. What are some of the practical ways in which genocidal conflicts of identities can be prevented, managed or resolved?

8. The History of the Jews in Europe during the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries



A Jewish family enjoys an outing in pre-war Berlin, Germany, 1929.

Photo: Peter Goldberg

Gift of the Beate Klarsfeld Foundation

*Courtesy of the Museum of Jewish Heritage—
A Living Memorial to the Holocaust, New York*



Professor Monika Richarz

Monika Richarz is an expert on the history of the Jewish people in Germany from the eighteenth to the twentieth century. She is Professor Emeritus at the University of Hamburg (Germany), and former Director of the Institute for the History of German Jewry of Hamburg. From 1972 to 1979 Professor Richarz was a research fellow at the Leo Baeck Institute in New York (United States), and from 1983 to 1994 she directed the Germania Judaica Library in Cologne (Germany). The volumes that Professor Richarz has published in English include *Jewish Life in Germany—Memoirs from Three Centuries* (Indiana University Press, 1991) and she contributed to *German Jewish History in Modern Times, Volume 3: Integration in Dispute 1871-1918* (Columbia University Press, 1997). In 2008, Professor Richarz gave a briefing on Jewish life in Europe during the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries to the 24 National Information Officers from the global network of United Nations information centres participating in a week-long seminar on the history of the Holocaust and the prevention of genocide. The seminar was organized by the Holocaust and the United Nations Outreach Programme and the House of the Wannsee Conference Memorial and Educational Site in Berlin (Germany).

The History of the Jews in Europe during the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

by *Professor Monika Richarz*

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in Hamburg

When discussing the experience of the Jewish people, it is important to study Jewish life before the tragedy of the Holocaust. Jews were human beings with their own history, culture and individualities. Regarding them only as victims means to dehumanize them. This paper will describe the factors affecting the integration of Jews into society and the social and economic conditions governing their lives before the Holocaust.

1. Emancipation

Jews had lived in many parts of Europe ever since they came here with the Romans. They were regarded as a special nation. Under Christian rule in the Holy Roman Empire they became very restricted in their freedom and their rights. In the eighteenth century in all of Europe, Jews still did not have the freedom of movement and could settle only in territories where they had received special permission. Many rulers had completely closed their countries to the Jews. Even when admitted, Jews in many States could not buy land or houses. In some cities they had to stay in assigned areas called

“ghettos”, which they could only leave during the day. Also, Jews were highly restricted in their occupations. In most States all jobs were forbidden to them except trading and money lending.

French Jews were the first to be emancipated in Europe. In 1791 they received legal equality by the French revolutionary parliament, which meant full citizenship without any conditions. But this model of instant emancipation was not followed by the rest of Europe. While in the Western and Central European States, including England and Italy, Jews finally became emancipated step by step during the nineteenth century, this did not happen in Imperial Russia where most of the European Jewish population lived. The Tsarist government forced Jews to settle only in a certain area of Russia, the so called “pale” or district of settlement. Here and in the areas Russia had taken over after the division of Poland, most Jews lived in great poverty, crammed into towns often making up the majority of the inhabitants. Many of them had no jobs at all and relied on alms. Only some members of the small Jewish upper class were permitted to live in Moscow or St. Petersburg. The legal discrimination of the Jews even increased during the nineteenth century because the Tsarist government regarded the Jews to be a potentially revolutionary element. In 1887, a quota system for Jewish students was introduced, which caused many Russian Jews to study in Germany, Austria or Switzerland. After Tsar Alexander II was assassinated in 1881, many anti-Jewish riots and pogroms took place in Russia until the First World War. This and the extreme poverty of the Jews led to their mass emigration. About two million Jews left Russia between 1881 and 1914, mostly emigrating to the United States. It was only when the October Revolution ended Tsarist rule that the Russian Jews finally became emancipated.

It had taken 125 years for emancipation to become effective for all Jews in Europe. But this did not mean they really enjoyed all constitutional rights. Quite often administrations would undermine the constitution. In Imperial Germany, for instance, it was almost

impossible for a Jew to become a full professor of humanities or a member of the officers' corps, even if highly qualified. Such positions were just not given to Jews. So when analysing the situation of a minority, it is not enough to consider their legal status but the social practices have to be looked at as well. Emancipation does not work if society does not accept a minority as equal. And the acceptance of the Jews was a factor that greatly varied from state to state and also over time.

Generally speaking, one may say that acceptance depended on the impact anti-Semitism had on a society. In Russia, the large Jewish minority regarded itself as a nation and was less acculturated than Jews in the West, which made their position in society even more endangered. Anti-Semitism existed more or less in all of the nineteenth century European societies, increasingly so up to the Second World War. The economic and social problems that accompanied the rise of capitalism and industrialization were often blamed on the Jews. But while in the East anti-Semitism even led to extended pogroms, in the West it was still mostly expressed in print and by putting up social barriers for Jews. The social upward mobility of the western Jews during the nineteenth century especially frightened the bourgeois middle class that became the main supporter of anti-Semitic ideas.

Emancipation does not work if society does not accept a minority as equal. And the acceptance of the Jews was a factor that greatly varied from state to state and also over time.

2. Acculturation

As mentioned, in Central Europe acculturation was regarded as a precondition for emancipation. Acculturation is a modern term. In the nineteenth century, the term assimilation was used, which implies a much more radical adjustment, even to the point of absorption. Jews were supposed to give up their national culture in order to become culturally German or French etc. Some supporters

of assimilation assumed that the Jewish minority would eventually even accept Christianity and finally vanish by intermarriage. In contrast to this, acculturation is a less radical and more academic term which implies that people accept a new culture or part of it, but do not give up completely their own traditions. This term describes more accurately what really happened in Western as well as—to a lesser degree—in Eastern European societies. Why did the question

of acculturation become so important in Western Europe during emancipation?

Before emancipation Jews had traditionally been a separate nation with their own culture. [...] This was regarded as a barrier to full citizenship in many modern nation states.

Before emancipation Jews had traditionally been a separate nation with their own culture. They had not only their own religion, but their own communities, their own schools and occupations, and they dressed, wrote and spoke differently. This was regarded as a barrier to full citizenship in many modern nation States. Jews were expected to open up to

the surrounding world and to leave their cultural ghetto to become individual Jewish citizens. This was a revolutionary change which most Jews in the West were eventually ready to accept. But in Poland and Russia the large Jewish population for the most part maintained their cultural traditions. A symbolic expression of this was their language, called Yiddish, which is written in Hebrew letters but derived from medieval German and was enriched with Hebrew and Polish vocabulary. In the eighteenth century, Yiddish had still been spoken by Jews all over Europe in an eastern and a western version. That made connections possible between all of the European Jewish communities. In a certain respect, Jews in pre-modern times were a transnational European community. This became visible, for instance, in marriage networks or in the student bodies of the famous Talmud schools for advanced religious studies. But there never existed any religious or political umbrella organization for all these European Jewish communities. Each was governing itself

independently by a community board which also hired a rabbi if the community could afford it.

Naturally there had been religious and cultural differences between Jews in Eastern and Western Europe, but they were not so important as long as all of European Jewry shared its traditional life and common culture. This ended in the second half of the eighteenth century when Haskala, the Jewish enlightenment, originated in Germany. It was this movement that first opened the Jewish mind to the culture of Europe. Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786) in Berlin, himself an orthodox Jew, became the best known representative of the Haskala and advocated Jewish emancipation. He also translated the Hebrew bible into German in order to teach Jews the language of the surrounding culture. This translation was banned by Polish rabbis who felt the bible should only be read in the holy Hebrew language.

From now on cultural and religious differences between eastern and western Jews became much stronger and soon alienated them from each other. In the West, Jews were fast to embrace contemporary culture. While Mendelssohn had been combining Jewish and European culture, the next generation started to neglect Jewish traditions and advocated religious reforms in Judaism. They gave up speaking western Yiddish, learned less Hebrew and became culturally German. The Jewish religion, which had formerly dominated almost every aspect of their lives, was subjected to reforms in order to better adjust to modern life. This was the birth of liberal Judaism.

This cultural revolution that took place within only about two generations, shocked most Jews in Eastern Europe while a minority of them was attracted to it. But in Poland, Russia and Lithuania, the Haskala never took deeper roots. The poor masses continued their traditional life observing Jewish ritual law. The Tsarist government tried with little success to force them into modern life by founding Jewish schools with secular subjects in the curriculum. Eastern

Jews kept speaking Yiddish and an important literature developed in this language. Still, at the end of the nineteenth century even here changes became visible. The extreme lack of work forced some Jews into the factories turning them into industrial workers. Here they encountered socialist ideas and union life. In 1897, Jews founded the “Bund”, the Federation of Jewish Workers from Lithuania, Russia and Poland. This organization acted as trade union and became part of the Russian Socialist Party. Besides this Jewish labour movement the Jewish national movement had its origin in Eastern Europe as well. Oppression by poverty and pogroms made many Jews look for a solution. Millions left for the United States. Because eastern Jews perceived themselves as a separate Jewish nation, some saw the solution in the return to Zion and the founding of a Jewish state.

In Western Europe, the Zionist movement faced strong opposition from most Jews. They had not only become acculturated but were by now patriotic citizens of their countries and in large part, became middle class. They felt threatened by Zionism because they had a lot to lose. They did not want their loyalty to their country to be questioned or to endanger their citizenship. Thus, in Western Europe the Zionist movement grew very slowly and mostly among the young. Very few western Jews left for Palestine before 1933.

3. Demography, urbanization and migration

Up to the Second World War, Europe was the centre of all Jews in the world. In 1939, at the beginning of the war, 58 per cent of the Jewish world population still lived in Europe—more than half of the world Jewry became endangered by the Holocaust.

The distribution of the Jewish population in Europe was very uneven. Before 1880, about 4.2 million Jews lived in Eastern Europe, mostly in small towns of Russia, Poland and Lithuania, compared to 2.5 million living in Western and Central European States. About half a million Jews lived in Imperial Germany, amounting to only less than 1 per cent of the German population. In France and Great

Britain, the Jewish population was even smaller. Up to 1918, Poland had not existed as a separate state any more, but when it came into being again it had about 3.3 million Jewish citizens who made up 10 per cent of the Polish population. This was the European state most densely populated by Jews.

Ever since Western European Jewry became emancipated and Jews were able to move about freely, they migrated to the cities where they had better opportunities to earn a living, expand their businesses, study or start a career. This resulted in rapidly increasing Jewish urbanization. After the First World War, large Jewish communities had developed in the capitals. The concentration of the Jewish population in large cities had a strong impact on their lifestyle and made them more visible in the economy and in the culture. The newcomers to city life acculturated very fast, because it was mostly the younger generation that often moved to the city for a better education. Social upward mobility increased and many Jews, except the recent immigrants, moved up into the bourgeois middle class. More and more western Jews dropped all religious practices. Many developed a secular Jewish identity, joining Jewish organizations and marrying only Jews.

The concentration of the Jewish population in large cities had a strong impact on their lifestyle and made them more visible in the economy and in the culture.

4. Jewish occupational structure

The occupations of Jews in Eastern and Western Europe showed similarities but also obvious differences. In the twentieth century, at least half or more of the Jews in the West and in the East remained in their traditional occupations of trade and commerce. This sector of the economy offered new opportunities ever since industrialization had greatly increased the production of consumer goods. While in Eastern Europe most Jews just barely made a living in petty trade, western Jews developed new careers in commerce. Jews who had

been peddlers now became shopkeepers, sales representatives or even wholesale merchants. Jews also founded the first department stores and the first mail order businesses. Some even moved from commerce into production, opened printing offices and publishing houses, and very successfully entered the garment industry. In Germany, Jews also became entrepreneurs in the metal, chemical and electrical industries, as well as in coal mining. European Jews continued to be active in banking and in financing industrialization.

In many western cities like Berlin, Hamburg or Vienna, an extended Jewish middle class developed in the nineteenth century. Jews increasingly entered the universities and became professionals. Most of the Jewish students studied medicine or trained to become lawyers to be self-employed in order to avoid potential anti-Semitism by employers. The proportion of Jews studying in universities and entering the professions increased, which, when compared to the Jewish population at the time, was very significant. For example, in 1925 in Germany, 26 per cent of all lawyers and 15 per cent of all doctors were Jewish, yet Jews constituted only one per cent of the general population.

While the Jewish occupational structure in Tsarist Russia continued to be much more traditional, some modernization did take place. Still, most of the Jews were small traders or poor craftsmen, often working as tailors, and some went into manufacturing and became important entrepreneurs in certain sectors of the economy. But in Eastern Europe, the Jewish middle and upper class remained small and was only partly acculturated.

5. Jews as creators of European culture

Since the beginning of the Haskala, Jews had not only become consumers of European culture but also participated in creating it. Soon highly talented Jews became visible in the arts, in the sciences and in the humanities. At the end of the nineteenth century, Vienna, Berlin and Prague had turned into cultural centres with the strong

participation of its acculturated Jewish elites. Persons of Jewish background were very prominent in the Viennese literary scene, especially among the playwrights, poets and journalists. In some fields, notably psychology and music, Jews broke with the traditions of the profession. Best known among those is Sigmund Freud (1856-1939), the Viennese creator of psychoanalysis. The Czech writer Franz Kafka (1883-1924) became world famous. Just like Vienna, Berlin was a centre of Jewish writers and journalists as well as actors and theatre directors. But in Berlin, Jews also participated to a large extent in physics, chemistry and biology. Albert Einstein (1879-1955) became universally known among the Berlin scientists. While western Jews had become most creative in European culture, their own Jewish culture lost its importance for many of them.

This was quite different in Eastern Europe where the majority still lived in the Jewish tradition, spoke Yiddish and regarded itself as a separate nation. But the strong anti-Semitism in Poland and Russia helped to keep Jews apart and made them politically more radical. Many Jewish schools in the Polish Republic taught in Yiddish. Polish Jews founded several political parties including an orthodox, a liberal and a workers' party as well as several Zionist parties. Yiddish culture was flourishing, especially in literature, in the Yiddish theatre and in the Jewish press. Many outstanding writers like the Nobel Prize winner Isaac Bashevis Singer (1902-1991) wrote in Yiddish. In 1925, an Institute for the Academic Study of the Yiddish Language and Culture (YIVO) was founded in Berlin and soon moved to Vilnius, at the time belonging to Poland.

Jews in Tsarist Russia had suffered many pogroms. When the Soviet Union was founded, Jews for the first time became citizens with equal rights. But the politics of the Soviet government forced the Jewish population to completely change its social structure and to drop its religious identity. Many of the 2.7 million Jews in the Soviet Union lost their income because production and commerce were socialized and private trade became illegal. These Jews were

now forced into the new agricultural collectives. The Jewish Social Democratic Party as well as the Zionist movement were banned. During the anti-religious campaigns until 1939, the Jewish communities, the Talmud schools and most synagogues were dissolved. Even the secular use of Yiddish now became very difficult. Under these conditions, traditional Judaism and a positive Jewish identity could not survive. Jews were forced into complete assimilation. On

Western Jewry had socially and culturally integrated itself to the extent that they could not imagine that a genocide could happen.

the other hand, they took advantage of career opportunities they now had when entering the party and state-run institutions. Under the leading functionaries of the Bolshevik party, Jews were well represented in the first years of the Soviet Union. Later, numerous Jewish functionaries became victims of Stalinist terror. The large number of intermarriages in the Soviet Union showed that the Soviet Union had succeeded in assimilating the Jews to the point of absorption. Ironically, it was only anti-Semitism that, in the long run, kept alive the

idea of being Jewish in the Soviet State.

Jewish life had become very different in Eastern and Western Europe in modern times. Western Jewry had socially and culturally integrated itself to the extent that they could not imagine that a genocide could happen in the western culture to which they felt they belonged. In Poland, Jews remained a nation apart, fighting for minority rights while in the Soviet Union, Judaism itself, was almost extinguished by government politics. The increasing influence of anti-Semitism and anti-democratic parties in many European countries destabilized Jewish existence even before the Holocaust.

Discussion questions

1. What impact did the emancipation of Jews in Western Europe have on their lives? How was this different for Jews in Eastern Europe?
2. How was anti-Semitism generally expressed in the nineteenth century in the West? How was this different in the East?
3. What was the difference between acculturation and assimilation of the Jews? What impact did this have on their lives?
4. What was the result of Jewish urbanization? What role might this have played in the Holocaust?
5. What were some of the cultural and political contributions of the Jewish people in Europe?



9. The Fate of the Roma during the Holocaust: The Untold Story



A group of Roma and Sinti detainees, awaiting instructions from their Nazi captors, sit in an open area near the fence in the Belzec concentration camp.

Photo: Courtesy of United States Holocaust Memorial Museum



László Teleki

László Teleki is the Special Envoy of the Hungarian Prime Minister, the Co-President of the Roma Affairs Inter-Ministerial and Member of the Hungarian Parliament. *The Fate of the Roma during the Holocaust: The Untold Story* is based on the remarks he made at the opening of the exhibit entitled "Roads to Death, the Pharrajimos in Hungary" that was opened by the Permanent Mission of Hungary to the United Nations in observance of the International Day of Commemoration in memory of the victims of the Holocaust in January 2009. From 2000 to 2002, he was the President of the National Alliance of Roma Organizations, and from 2002 to 2006 he was Deputy Minister of Roma Affairs for the Prime Minister's Office.

The Fate of the Roma during the Holocaust: The Untold Story

by *László Teleki*

Special Envoy of the Hungarian Prime Minister, Co-President of the Roma Affairs Inter-Ministerial and Member of the Hungarian Parliament

The fate of the Roma or “Gypsies” during the Holocaust is not well known despite the fact that they were targeted for extinction by National Socialist Germany. The Nazis took many steps they thought necessary to solve their so-called “Gypsy problem”. Like the Jews, the Roma suffered discrimination, persecution, arbitrary internment, forced labour and murder under the Nazi regime.

The Roma, who originated in India, followed their own culture and traditions and lived quite differently than the Europeans. The Roma suffered because this lifestyle was judged unfairly as “a nuisance”. Also, many Europeans believed that the Roma did not belong among them because Europe was not their homeland, despite the fact that the Roma had been living peacefully there for years. Furthermore, as a result of Nazi racial policy towards minorities, the Roma were considered to be a threat to the concept of “Aryan racial purity”.

Nazi treatment of the Roma was prejudicial and discriminatory from the start of the regime. Roma were deprived of their rights and property, prohibited to marry “Aryans” or even each other, as

they were deemed to be inferior by law. By 1938, they began to be arrested and held in guarded or closed camps. Some collection camps became forced labour camps. Many Roma were deported to already existing concentration camps. Most Roma still living in the German Reich in December 1942 were deported to Auschwitz-Birkenau. In the camp, they found themselves at the bottom of the social hierarchy, were tattooed with a “Z” for “Zigeuner” and were required to wear a brown or black triangle to single them out.

Today we would like to tell our story [...] because the deaths of Roma men, women, and children become sacrifices only if we understand the “why” and don’t shut our eyes to the “how”.

The Roma in the “Gypsy camp” at Auschwitz-Birkenau were crowded into a few barracks where hundreds died from malnutrition, epidemics, medical experiments, forced sterilization and forced labour. Auschwitz was only one of the places where the Roma were systematically gassed and murdered. In other parts of Eastern Europe, the Roma were shot to death.

The Roma holocaust, or “Pharrajimos” in Hungarian, is one of the greatest losses suffered by mankind so far. However, the general public has come to learn about this loss much later and to a much lesser degree than of that of the Shoah, the atrocities committed against the Jews, our kindred people in suffering.

Today we would like to tell our story, through educational programmes, public events and exhibits, because the deaths of Roma men, women, and children become sacrifices only if we understand the “why” and don’t shut our eyes to the “how”.

We want everybody to know and understand that nearly one-fourth of the European Roma community¹—among them many

1 Source: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (historians can only estimate the toll because exact numbers are unknown).

young people—perished during the Second World War for no reason at all. There was not one Roma who wanted to take up arms.

Most of the murdered are left mouldering, nameless, in mass graves at abandoned forest sites and in fields, after they were killed by gunshot, mines, hunger, disease, lethal gas, fire, or poisons used during inhuman experiments. Some were buried while still alive after having been cruelly beaten. We remember them and their senseless deaths, and everybody remembers them as they accompany the victims on the road to their deaths.

In reflecting on the Pharrajimos in Hungary, inevitably some questions arise:

Why didn't the Hungarian intellectuals say anything between the two World Wars, when the first thoughts and actions were conceived urging persecution?

Why weren't they given homes, and why were large numbers of Roma raided from 1941 on?

Why were the Roma families rounded up from 1943 on?

Why were they taken away in forced marches, in cold and dark freight cars, from Székesfehérvár, Miskolc, Nagykanizsa, Körmend, Eger, Budapest; from the prison of the fortress of Komárom, why were they taken to Theresianum, Dachau, Matthausen, Saarbrüchen, Bergen-Belsen, Auschwitz-Birkenau and other German labour and death camps?

Why were they killed in December 1944, in the vicinity of Barcs in Somogy County, in Kerecsend, Andornaktálya, and Eger in Heves County, in Székesfehérvár in Fejér County, in Piliscsaba in Pest County, in Várpalota and Inota in Veszprém County? And so on, and so on ...

It is impossible to give a morally acceptable answer to any of the above. But the silence of half a century is not an answer either,

just because there are few documents or photographs that remain of these senseless deaths.

We learned about it for the first time from the memories of old Roma and of Jewish inmates who suffered with them and who lent them a helping hand in the camps. During the fiftieth anniversary of the Auschwitz-Birkenau bloodbath, we visited the site of the horror where more than 3,000 Roma men, women and children died. All those present at the death camp that day, including myself, understood the significance of this terrible era, its immeasurable loss, and that the best part of us had perished there.

That was the time when we began to track down the broken branches of our family trees and our clans, the missing families. It was then that we started to put questions to the oldest people amongst us, who as small children lived through those days.

That was the time when we understood: the majority of the victims of our people remain nameless today, the only real sense their sacrifice makes is to remind us. And remembering has remained our obligation forever.

THE GYPSIES WERE TAKEN AWAY

*“The many Gypsies were taken away,
Large, deep ditches to dig on the way.
The ditch slowly deepens, work without rest,
‘Till water has bubbled up from its depth.”*

— from the poem by
Choli Daróczy

Yes, indeed, the ditch of forgetfulness and negligence has also been deepening. This is a very dangerous process. Just think about it! It was because of negligence, because many people did not take it seriously in time and they just did not care, that Nazism could reach a point when it became unstoppable by the little people. By that

time it could only be overpowered at the expense of a destructive and costly war.

It is our obligation to remember not only the Hungarian Roma victims, but all of the families of the European Roma. On the roads to death there were no borders, not national or geographical ones, as the Roma were taken to the death camps. Many Roma women and men set off to forced labour and many perished several hundreds of kilometres away from home, behind barbed wires. Hundreds of children became orphans, but they survived, thanks to luck, or helpful Jewish, Hungarian or Slovak women.

Our mourning is eternal and limitless, but not friendless and aimless. Its aim is to say with you as loud and as decidedly as possible: NEVER AGAIN.

Discussion questions

1. In what ways was the *Pharrajimos* similar to the *Shoah* of the Jews?
2. Why were the Roma considered to be inferior by the Nazis?
3. How were the Roma identified in the camps?
4. Why might the Nazis have found it necessary to single out each of the prison populations in the camps?
5. What might have been done to help prevent the persecution and killing of the Roma?

The Holocaust and the United Nations Outreach Programme



Annexes



Sixtieth session
Agenda item 72

Resolution adopted by the General Assembly

[without reference to a Main Committee (A/60/L.12 and Add.1)]

60/7. Holocaust remembrance

The General Assembly,

Reaffirming the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,¹ which proclaims that everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth therein, without distinction of any kind, such as race, religion or other status,

Recalling article 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which states that everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person,

Recalling also article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and article 18 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights,² which state that everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion,

Bearing in mind that the founding principle of the Charter of the United Nations, “to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war”, is testimony to the indelible link between the United Nations and the unique tragedy of the Second World War,

Recalling the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide,³ which was adopted in order to avoid repetition of genocides such as those committed by the Nazi regime,

Recalling also the preamble of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which states that disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind,

Taking note of the fact that the sixtieth session of the General Assembly is taking place during the sixtieth year of the defeat of the Nazi regime,

Recalling the twenty-eighth special session of the General Assembly, a unique event, held in commemoration of the sixtieth anniversary of the liberation of the Nazi concentration camps,

¹ Resolution 217 A (III).

² See resolution 2200 A (XXI), annex.

³ Resolution 260 A (III), annex.

Honouring the courage and dedication shown by the soldiers who liberated the concentration camps,

Reaffirming that the Holocaust, which resulted in the murder of one third of the Jewish people, along with countless members of other minorities, will forever be a warning to all people of the dangers of hatred, bigotry, racism and prejudice,

1. *Resolves* that the United Nations will designate 27 January as an annual International Day of Commemoration in memory of the victims of the Holocaust;

2. *Urges* Member States to develop educational programmes that will inculcate future generations with the lessons of the Holocaust in order to help to prevent future acts of genocide, and in this context commends the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research;

3. *Rejects* any denial of the Holocaust as an historical event, either in full or part;

4. *Commends* those States which have actively engaged in preserving those sites that served as Nazi death camps, concentration camps, forced labour camps and prisons during the Holocaust;

5. *Condemns without reserve* all manifestations of religious intolerance, incitement, harassment or violence against persons or communities based on ethnic origin or religious belief, wherever they occur;

6. *Requests* the Secretary-General to establish a programme of outreach on the subject of the “Holocaust and the United Nations” as well as measures to mobilize civil society for Holocaust remembrance and education, in order to help to prevent future acts of genocide; to report to the General Assembly on the establishment of this programme within six months from the date of the adoption of the present resolution; and to report thereafter on the implementation of the programme at its sixty-third session.

*42nd plenary meeting
1 November 2005*



United Nations
General Assembly

A/RES/61/255

Distr.: General
22 March 2007

Sixty-first session
Agenda item 44

Resolution adopted by the General Assembly

[*without reference to a Main Committee (A/61/L.53 and Add.1)*]

61/255. Holocaust denial

The General Assembly,

Reaffirming its resolution 60/7 of 1 November 2005,

Recalling that resolution 60/7 observes that remembrance of the Holocaust is critical to prevent further acts of genocide,

Recalling also that, for this reason, resolution 60/7 rejects efforts to deny the Holocaust which, by ignoring the historical fact of those terrible events, increase the risk they will be repeated,

Noting that all people and States have a vital stake in a world free of genocide,

Welcoming the establishment by the Secretary-General of a programme of outreach on the subject of “the Holocaust and the United Nations”, and also welcoming the inclusion by Member States within their educational programmes of measures to confront attempts to deny or minimize the importance of the Holocaust,

Noting that 27 January has been designated by the United Nations as the annual International Day of Commemoration in memory of the victims of the Holocaust,

1. *Condemns without any reservation* any denial of the Holocaust;
2. *Urges* all Member States unreservedly to reject any denial of the Holocaust as a historical event, either in full or in part, or any activities to this end.

*85th plenary meeting
26 January 2007*



United Nations

General Assembly

A/60/882

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9 June 2006
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Sixtieth session

Agenda item 72

Holocaust remembrance

Programme of outreach on the “Holocaust and the United Nations”

Report of the Secretary-General

Summary

The present report is submitted in accordance with General Assembly resolution 60/7 on Holocaust remembrance, in which the Assembly requested the Secretary-General to establish a programme of outreach on the subject of the “Holocaust and the United Nations” as well as to take measures to mobilize civil society for Holocaust remembrance and education, in order to help to prevent future acts of genocide. In planning the outreach programme, the Department of Public Information of the Secretariat has pursued established as well as innovative ways to broaden its reach and deepen its impact. Endeavouring to honour the memory of the victims and learn from the circumstances that led to and perpetuated the Holocaust, the Department has initiated new contacts with civil society organizations worldwide that have a proven record in Holocaust remembrance and education, and will continue to forge new partnerships with them and others. Simultaneously, the Department gears specific events to Member States to support them in addressing the mandates contained in resolution 60/7.

Core programme elements include: a commemorative event each January with a keynote speaker and a solemn performing arts element; companion exhibits on various aspects of the issue and with different means of visual expression; an annual briefing by experts for Member States and civil society partners; partnerships with the principal institutions in the field and joint ventures with them; collaboration on events with and dissemination of materials to the global network of United Nations information centres, services and offices; media outreach; a gateway website; a film series and a discussion paper series. The Department continues to build relationships that will widen the range of activities offered under the programme as it identifies new opportunities for partnership.

I. Introduction

1. On 1 November 2005, the General Assembly adopted resolution 60/7 entitled “Holocaust remembrance”, and resolved that the United Nations would designate 27 January as an annual International Day of Commemoration in memory of the victims of the Holocaust. The Assembly urged Member States to develop educational programmes that will inculcate future generations with the lessons of the Holocaust in order to help to prevent future acts of genocide, and in that context commended the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research.
2. In the same resolution, the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General to establish a programme of outreach on the subject of the “Holocaust and the United Nations” as well as to take measures to mobilize civil society for Holocaust remembrance and education, in order to help to prevent future acts of genocide; to report to the General Assembly on the establishment of the programme within six months from the date of the adoption of the resolution; and to report thereafter on the implementation of the programme at its sixty-third session.
3. The present report outlines the activities undertaken following the establishment of a programme of outreach on the “Holocaust and the United Nations” (hereinafter called “the programme”).

II. Goals of the programme

4. The mandate for establishing the outreach programme was assigned to the Department of Public Information of the Secretariat. In consultation with a number of civil society organizations and Member States, the Department decided to conduct the programme under the overall theme of “Remembrance and Beyond”. This theme serves to highlight the main two elements of the programme—remembering the victims of the Holocaust and helping to prevent future acts of genocide.
5. As a counterpoint to Nazi ideology which sought to strip victims of their humanness, remembrance focuses on the individual and works to give each person a face, a name and a story. Through the recollection of the journeys of those who perished and by sharing the experiences of the survivors at commemorative events, in exhibits and on web pages, the programme will show that the failure of mankind to prevent the Holocaust has direct relevance to the dangers of genocide that persist today. In sum, the Department intends to serve as a channel of information for the benefit of Member States, who have been urged by the General Assembly to develop educational programmes that will inculcate future generations with the lessons of the Holocaust, and for civil society whose mobilization for Holocaust remembrance and education can help prevent future acts of genocide.

III. The programme

6. In planning specific outreach activities, the Department of Public Information pursues both established and innovative ways to broaden the reach and deepen the impact of the programme. Traditional means include media interviews, press announcements, notes to correspondents, briefings to Member States and visiting student and youth groups, and enlisting the information support of non-governmental organizations associated with the Department. Novel means include special emphasis on audio-visual communication, the performing arts, installations, exhibits, photography and the Internet.

7. Core programme elements developed so far include a commemorative event each January with a keynote speaker and a solemn performing arts element; companion exhibits on various aspects of the issue and with different means of visual expression; an annual briefing by experts for Member States and civil society partners; partnerships with the principal institutions in the field and joint ventures with them; collaboration on events with and dissemination of materials to the global network of United Nations information centres, services and offices; media outreach; a gateway website; a film series and engagement with the academic community.

8. The Department will widen the range of activities offered under the programme as it identifies new opportunities for partnership.

IV. Activities undertaken in the context of the programme

A. Holocaust remembrance

9. To launch the programme, a number of events were held during the week of Holocaust Remembrance Day, which was observed on 27 January 2006. In preparation for this, the Department of Public Information created a special logo and a commemorative poster to depict the theme “Remembrance and Beyond”. Set against a black background, a pair of barbed wires, coloured in grey, run horizontally across the page and finally transform into a green-hued vine from which a pair of flowers blossoms. The poster has drawn global praise, numerous demands for copies, interview requests with its designer and, most recently, the American Inhouse Design Award from *Graphic Design USA* magazine. The Department also designed an informative card in English and French which features the logo and outlines the core elements of the programme.

10. On 23 January, the *UN Chronicle* E-Alert, published by the United Nations flagship journal, was transmitted electronically to all permanent missions, United Nations offices and staff members as well as to subscribing non-governmental organizations, academic institutions and individuals. It included articles published in the magazine on the Holocaust, genocide and related issues of intolerance.

11. On 24 January, in collaboration with Yad Vashem, the Department hosted the opening of an exhibit entitled, “Remembrance and Beyond: No Child’s Play”. At the ceremony, a memorial prayer was recited and a student from the United Nations International School read the poem “Dream”, written in the Lodz ghetto by Avremek Koplowitz, a 13-year-old boy from Poland, who later perished at Auschwitz. This exhibit was complemented by a Holocaust Learning Centre that featured video presentations, photographs, books written by Holocaust survivors and a children’s book with drawings and poems by children in the Terezín ghetto as well as computer stations with access to Holocaust victims’ names and Holocaust-related and United Nations websites.

12. The same day, the Department and the United Nations Staff Recreation Council Film Society jointly hosted a screening of the movie *Fateless* for members of permanent missions, United Nations staff and non-governmental organizations. The film, based on the novel *Fatelessness* by Nobel Laureate for Literature Imre Kertesz, follows the story of a 14-year-old Jewish boy captured in Budapest and imprisoned in the Buchenwald concentration camp. The film screening was repeated the next day to meet high demand.

13. On 25 January, the Department’s Non-Governmental Organizations Section organized a briefing, webcast live and focusing on the importance of tolerance and promotion of cross-cultural understanding to help prevent future acts of genocide in the context of the Holocaust. The briefing was followed by the screening of a United Nations-produced video entitled *A Promise to Remember*, depicting the historical progression of the Second World War, the Holocaust and the birth of the United Nations.

14. On 26 January, the eve of the International Day of Commemoration in memory of the victims of the Holocaust, the Department organized a solemn candlelight vigil in the Visitors’ Lobby. Six Holocaust survivors from diverse backgrounds, representing the 6 million people whose lives were lost, read excerpts from the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a cantor recited the mourners’ Kaddish and a student read an excerpt from *Anne Frank: The Diary of a Young Girl*.

15. On 27 January, more than 2,100 people attended a standing-room only memorial observance in the General Assembly Hall. Overflow guests had to be accommodated in the Trusteeship Council Chamber. The commemoration was broadcast live at the United Nations Office at Geneva with the assistance of the United Nations Information Service (UNIS). The Under-Secretary-General for Communications and Public Information introduced the programme, which began with a recorded video message by the Secretary-General. A statement by the President of the sixtieth session of the General Assembly was also read on the occasion. It was followed by a statement by the Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations. Names and images of Holocaust victims were read and displayed, followed by poignant remarks by

Gerda Klein, a Holocaust survivor, and Roman Kent, Chairman of the American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors. The Ceremony concluded with songs from the ghettos and camps performed by the Zamir Chorale of Boston, which preceded a lecture given by Professor Yehuda Bauer, Academic Advisor to the Task Force and to Yad Vashem, the first in an annual series entitled “Remembrance and Beyond”. This event was webcast live and broadcast by United Nations Television. The Department also received support from the United Nations Foundation for this event.

B. Worldwide commemoration

16. The network of United Nations information centres, services and offices commemorated Holocaust Remembrance Day either individually or jointly with regional or local civil society partners and Governments. These included special events in Bangkok, Rome (in collaboration with the Jewish community in Rome and the Rome Provincial Authority), and Eritrea (in cooperation with the United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea). UNIS Geneva held a special ceremony where the Director-General of the United Nations Office at Geneva, the Permanent Representative of Israel in Geneva, and a survivor of the Holocaust spoke. “Never Again: A Concert for Life” was arranged by the United Nations Information Centre (UNIC) Mexico. Photographic exhibits were mounted at United Nations offices in Bangkok, Nairobi and Vienna; the United Nations Office at Nairobi also held a candlelight vigil. Civil society partnerships included a programme jointly arranged by UNIC Lusaka with the United Nations Association of Zambia and another held by UNIC Rio de Janeiro, which involved the Roma community.

17. In line with the programme’s mission to promote awareness of the lessons learned from the Holocaust, a number of United Nations offices organized forums for discussion of the issue. UNIC Ouagadougou hosted a seminar in partnership with the National Commission of Human Rights in Burkina Faso. UNIC Warsaw briefed Polish teachers at a programme organized by the National In-Service Teacher Training Centre and the Polish Association entitled “Children of the Holocaust”. UNIC Prague organized a public discussion with two Holocaust survivors and conducted a public screening of two Czech documentaries about the quest of students for their Jewish neighbours who disappeared during the Second World War. A debate with the film’s producer and Holocaust survivors followed.

18. Media outreach by UNICs yielded articles in the local press in Bogota, Kyiv, La Paz, Tbilisi and Yangon. In addition, UNIC Buenos Aires created a special feature on its website.

C. Building partnerships

19. One of the main goals of the programme is to advance its information outreach through the expertise and additional resources

of external partners. Of the partners that have proved to be invaluable are international organizations, Holocaust museums and memorials, survivors' groups, educational institutions, non-governmental organizations, foundations and Member States.

20. In January, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum invited the Under-Secretary-General for Communications and Public Information to visit the Museum and discuss areas of collaboration. The Museum has since then participated in a multimedia briefing on the Holocaust and genocide organized for Member States by the Department, and shared, at no cost, copies of a DVD for dissemination to United Nations information centres, services and offices, containing an interview with Lieutenant-General (Ret.) Roméo Dallaire, who is currently a member of the Secretary-General's Advisory Committee on Genocide Prevention.

21. In February, the Task Force, commended in resolution 60/7 for its role in developing educational programmes on Holocaust awareness and the prevention of genocide, invited the Department to make a presentation at the Task Force's Education Working Group meeting in Vilnius. The meeting afforded opportunity to speak to scholars on Holocaust studies and visit institutions central to its remembrance. As an outcome, separate agreements are under way for cooperation between the Department and the Task Force and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

22. In March, the Holocaust Memorial Day Trust in London invited the Department to its first annual conference for discussions on the "Holocaust and the United Nations" outreach programme. At the conference, more than 100 local community organizers of Holocaust memorial days from throughout the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland joined academics and survivors of the Holocaust to discuss plans for Holocaust Memorial Day 2007. As an outcome of those meetings, the Department will now become a member of the Task Force's Special Working Group on Holocaust Remembrance Days, charged with disseminating guidelines on best practices and promoting partnerships among member countries.

23. Also in March, the Department was invited by the Westchester Holocaust Education Center in Purchase, New York, to make a presentation. As a result of the meeting, the Department obtained, at no cost, a Holocaust educational DVD with survivor testimonials accompanied by a Teacher's Guide that has been disseminated to the global network of UNICs.

24. In April, the Department established contact with the Museum of Jewish Heritage: A Living Memorial to the Holocaust, in New York. As a follow-up, an official of the Museum was a panellist in a briefing for non-governmental organizations on cultural diversity at United Nations Headquarters in May. The Museum further organized a programme for representatives from a number of institutions involved with the outreach programme.

25. Also in April, the Department launched a film series in partnership with the New York Tolerance Center. The films will provide the context for discussion of Holocaust-related issues among Member States and the public. The screening of the first movie in the series titled *Sophie Scholl: The Final Days* was made possible with support from the Consulate General of the Federal Republic of Germany in New York.

26. In May, the Department organized a briefing on Holocaust awareness and the prevention of genocide. The purpose of the briefing was to ensure that Member States and civil society were given an opportunity to interact closely with some of the best experts from leading institutions worldwide and become aware of the resources these institutions have developed on the subject of Holocaust education. Panellists were drawn from the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, Yad Vashem, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and the Living History Forum in Sweden. Ambassador Gábor Bródi, the Permanent Representative of Hungary to the United Nations, made a statement on the activities planned under Hungary's chairmanship of the Task Force. The programme was webcast live to reach an international audience.

27. In mid-May, in partnership with scholars around the globe, the Department launched its Discussion Paper Series on the Holocaust and related issues of hatred, bigotry, racism and prejudice. The first paper entitled, "On the Holocaust and its implications: in the wake of Holocaust Remembrance Day 2006", was posted on the programme's website. Each paper will be accompanied by discussion questions and produced in English and French. The series will aim to raise the level of debate on these issues in all regions of the world.

28. At the end of May, the Department gave a presentation on the outreach programme to nearly 200 participants from 38 countries at the opening plenary session of the Task Force in Budapest. The plenary subsequently agreed to formalize the working relationship between the Department and the Task Force to provide for consultation and support in facilitating the adoption by States Members of the United Nations of educational curriculum relevant to the Holocaust and, in particular, its importance in preventing occurrence of further genocide; and to support each other's public information activities. The Task Force's Academic Working Group agreed to provide the programme with names of scholars who would be interested in drafting discussion papers, and a number of institutions agreed to make films available for screening in New York.

D. Holocaust remembrance website

29. The Department established a special website to facilitate global access to the activities held under the outreach programme. The website (<http://www.un.org/holocaustremembrance>) is also intended to serve as a gateway for Member States and civil society to information and

resources on Holocaust education, remembrance and research. The website contains links to lesson plans and curricula, teacher training materials, information materials, university programmes, museums, travelling exhibits and archived statements, speeches and video of the events at United Nations Headquarters organized in connection with the outreach programme.

E. Media outreach

30. The Department's programme managers have conducted interviews with leading media organizations and have distributed information materials to a specialized media list. As a result of these outreach efforts, there were more than 41,000 citations on the Internet about the Holocaust remembrance activities at the United Nations in January 2006. The Department also facilitated press interviews of Holocaust survivors who attended events at United Nations Headquarters, facilitated the filming of a documentary filmed at the candlelight vigil on 26 January, and arranged for the live telecast of the 27 January observance to Israel. United Nations Television material on these events was made available through UNIFEED to television stations worldwide.

V. Future activities

31. The Department of Public Information has proposed a number of collaborative projects with institutions attending the Task Force Plenary meeting in May. Discussions are under way with the Shoah Foundation Institute for Visual History and Education to develop a project that will provide United Nations information centres with access to survivor testimonies and resource materials in English and French. Another would invite scholars from around the world to contribute articles on the importance of education about the Holocaust for posting on the programme's website.

32. Future plans also include a presentation in Minneapolis, Minnesota, in June to the annual conference of Association of Holocaust Organizations, which serves as a network of 61 national and 180 international organizations for the advancement of Holocaust programming, awareness, education and research.

33. At the end of June, the Department will address the international conference on "Teaching the Holocaust to Future Generations" at Yad Vashem in Israel. The conference also provides an opportunity for consultation with participants on the organization of Holocaust Remembrance Days.

34. Later in 2006, the Department will co-sponsor a cultural event at the Museum of Jewish Heritage entitled "A Living Memorial to the Holocaust". This event will be held in connection with the "Daniel Pearl Music Days" in October and will aim to use the power of music to promote tolerance and inspire respect for differences, while providing

the co-sponsors with a platform for raising awareness of the dangers of hatred, bigotry, racism and prejudice.

VI. Conclusion

35. The Department will continue to work with Member States and expand its partnerships with civil society organizations to commemorate the uniqueness of the Holocaust in human history and to draw from it lessons that may help to prevent future acts of genocide. It will make available to them materials that have been developed by individual experts and institutions with a proven track record in the field of Holocaust remembrance, education and research. The outreach programme will also continue to devise innovative means and methods by which its mandate to further Holocaust remembrance can be realized.



United Nations
General Assembly

A/63/316

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Sixty-third session

Item 62 of the provisional agenda*

Holocaust remembrance

Programme of outreach on the “Holocaust and the United Nations”

Report of the Secretary-General

Summary

The present report is submitted in accordance with General Assembly resolution 60/7 on Holocaust remembrance, in which the Assembly requested the Secretary-General to establish a programme of outreach on the subject of the “Holocaust and the United Nations” as well as measures to mobilize civil society for Holocaust remembrance and education, in order to help to prevent future acts of genocide. Since its establishment in January 2006, the outreach programme has developed an international network of civil society groups, collaborated with world-renowned institutions and garnered the support of experts in the field of Holocaust and genocide studies to develop a multifaceted programme that includes seminars for United Nations information officers, exhibitions on a variety of themes related to the Holocaust, discussion papers drafted by distinguished scholars, panel discussions, a film series, innovative online information products for educators, a permanent exhibition at United Nations Headquarters, and the annual observance of the International Day of Commemoration in memory of the victims of the Holocaust.

The outreach programme has worked closely with survivors to ensure that their stories are heard and heeded as a warning of the consequences of anti-Semitism and other forms of discrimination. The Department of Public Information also continues to provide civil society with communications tools to combat Holocaust denial.

* A/63/150 and Corr.1.

I. Introduction

1. On 1 November 2005, the General Assembly adopted resolution 60/7 entitled “Holocaust remembrance”, and resolved that the United Nations would designate 27 January as an annual International Day of Commemoration in memory of the victims of the Holocaust. The Assembly urged Member States to develop educational programmes that will inculcate future generations with the lessons of the Holocaust in order to help to prevent future acts of genocide, and in that context commended the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research.
2. In the same resolution, the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General to establish a programme of outreach on the subject of the “Holocaust and the United Nations” (“the programme”) as well as measures to mobilize civil society for Holocaust remembrance and education, in order to help to prevent future acts of genocide; to report to the General Assembly on the establishment of the programme within six months from the date of the adoption of the resolution; and to report thereafter on the implementation of the programme at its sixty-third session.
3. The present report to the General Assembly at its sixty-third session outlines the activities undertaken since June 2006, when the first report was issued (A/60/882).

II. Goals of the outreach programme

4. The Department of Public Information continues to carry out the programme under the overall theme of “Remembrance and Beyond”. This theme serves to highlight the main two elements of the programme: remembering all the victims of the Holocaust and helping to prevent future acts of genocide.
5. As a counterpoint to Nazi ideology, which sought to strip victims of their humanness, remembrance focuses on the individual and works to give each person a face, a name and a story. Through the recollection of the journeys of those who perished and by sharing the experiences of the survivors at commemorative events, in exhibits and on web pages, the programme shows that the failure of mankind to prevent the Holocaust has direct relevance to the dangers of genocide that persist today. In sum, the Department serves as a channel of information for the benefit of Member States, who have been urged by the General Assembly to develop educational programmes that will inculcate future generations with the lessons of the Holocaust, and for civil society whose mobilization for Holocaust remembrance and education can help prevent future acts of genocide.

III. The programme

6. The Department of Public Information has implemented a communications strategy with worldwide impact by developing an international network of civil society groups, collaborating with world-renowned institutions and garnering the support of experts in the field of Holocaust and genocide studies to create a multifaceted programme.

7. These partnerships have resulted in the increase of multiple redis-seminators of the programme's key messages: honour the memory of the victims; respect the dignity and worth of each individual; celebrate diversity; protect human rights; combat Holocaust denial; and learn from the circumstances that led to and perpetuated the Holocaust, which remain valuable lessons for the prevention of genocide. The Holocaust serves as a warning of the consequences of anti-Semitism and other forms of discrimination today.

8. Core elements of the programme include seminars for United Nations information officers, exhibits on a variety of themes related to the Holocaust, discussion papers drafted by distinguished scholars, panel discussions, a film series, innovative online information products for educators, a permanent exhibition at United Nations Headquarters, and the annual observance of the International Day of Commemoration in memory of the victims of the Holocaust.

IV. Activities undertaken in the context of the programme

A. Annual observance at United Nations Headquarters

January 2007

“We must apply the lessons of the Holocaust to today's world. And we must do our utmost so that all peoples must enjoy the protections and rights for which the United Nations stands.”
(Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, 27 January 2007)

9. The United Nations in New York observed the second International Day of Commemoration in memory of the victims of the Holocaust with a ceremony on 29 January 2007 in the General Assembly Hall. The Under-Secretary-General for Communications and Public Information introduced the programme, which began with a video message by Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon. Statements were made by the President of the sixty-first session of the General Assembly, the Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations, a student who had visited former concentration and death camps in Poland and a representative of the disabled community. The keynote address was given by Simone Veil, a Holocaust survivor, then President of the Fondation pour la mémoire de la Shoah. The observance focused on the importance of Holocaust education and the fight against discrimination, particularly in the light of the adoption by the General Assembly on 13 December 2006 of the landmark Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. The ceremony concluded with a musical

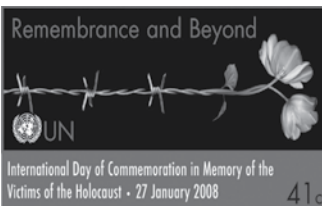
performance given by HaZamir: The International Jewish High School Chamber Choir, a project of the Zamir Choral Foundation. The event was webcast live and broadcast on United Nations Television.

10. That afternoon, the Department launched its commemorative DVD on the first Holocaust remembrance observance held at United Nations Headquarters in 2006. The film was screened at a panel discussion on the topic of Holocaust denial and human rights, organized by B'nai B'rith International. The Department also collaborated with the International Raoul Wallenberg Foundation on the "Partners of Hope" concert at Carnegie Hall on 5 February 2007. This concert was held to recognize those who displayed great courage to save Jews from genocide during the Second World War.

January 2008

"But it is not enough to remember, honour and grieve for the dead. ... We must foster in our children a sense of responsibility, so that they can build societies that protect and promote the rights of all citizens." (Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, 27 January 2008)

11. The memorial ceremony and concert held in the United Nations General Assembly Hall on 28 January 2008 underscored the responsibility that a State has towards its populations and the democratic principles that help to preserve and protect human rights, in connection with the sixtieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Under-Secretary-General for Communications and Public Information introduced the programme, which began with a video message by Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon. The keynote address on the topic "Civic responsibility and the preservation of democratic values", by United States of America Congressman Tom Lantos, was delivered by his daughter. Other speakers included the President of the sixty-second session of the General Assembly and the Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations. The ceremony also featured a concert with the Buchmann-Mehta School of Music Symphony Orchestra, Tel Aviv University, in cooperation with the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by the world renowned maestro Zubin Mehta.

	<p>The Department of Public Information launched the Holocaust commemorative stamp issued by the United Nations Postal Administration in English, French and German at New York Headquarters and at United Nations Offices at Geneva and</p>
<p>Vienna. Israel launched a national stamp in Hebrew with a similar design based on the award-winning Holocaust and the United Nations Outreach Programme logo.</p>	

12. That afternoon, the Department participated in a panel discussion with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) on the importance of Holocaust education, which was organized by B'nai B'rith International. The film on the paper clips project undertaken by the students at Whitwell Middle School in Tennessee was screened. These students collected a paper clip for every victim of the Holocaust—6 million for the Jews and 5 million in memory of the other minorities who were murdered.

B. Holocaust remembrance around the world

13. The global network of United Nations information centres (UNICs), United Nations Information Service (UNIS) and United Nations Offices observed the International Day of Commemoration in memory of the victims of the Holocaust in 2007 and 2008 in partnership with civil society groups and Government representatives.

2007 activities

Memorial ceremonies

14. Solemn ceremonies were organized in Asmara (in cooperation with the United Nations Peacekeeping Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea), Asunción, Baku, Buenos Aires, Geneva, Lima, Moscow, Nairobi, Rio de Janeiro, Vienna, Washington, D.C. and Yerevan. One of the larger ceremonies was held at UNIS Geneva, which included statements by a Holocaust scholar, a survivor and two young volunteers from the International Youth Meeting Centre at Auschwitz.

Educational activities

15. UNIC Moscow, in partnership with the Holocaust Educational Centre, hosted a group of high school educators and non-governmental organization activists at the UNIC library to brief them on the significance of Holocaust Remembrance Day. UNIC Prague, in cooperation with the Jewish Museum, organized seven workshops in which high school students interacted with Holocaust survivors. UNIC Warsaw, along with the Shalom Foundation and Teachers Education Centre, organized a poster competition for high school students. The United Nations Regional Information Centre for Western Europe (UNRIC) Brussels and the Portuguese Youth Institute produced a Holocaust remembrance video that was shown on the Lisbon Portuguese Youth Institute in-house television network and was shared with other United Nations offices in Lusophone countries.

Exhibitions

16. A week-long exhibition of 60 panels of photographs was mounted at UNIC Nairobi and two exhibitions, including on the theme “No Child’s Play”, from Yad Vashem, and paintings from the series “Art Against Oblivion” by a Holocaust survivor, were displayed at UNIS Vienna.

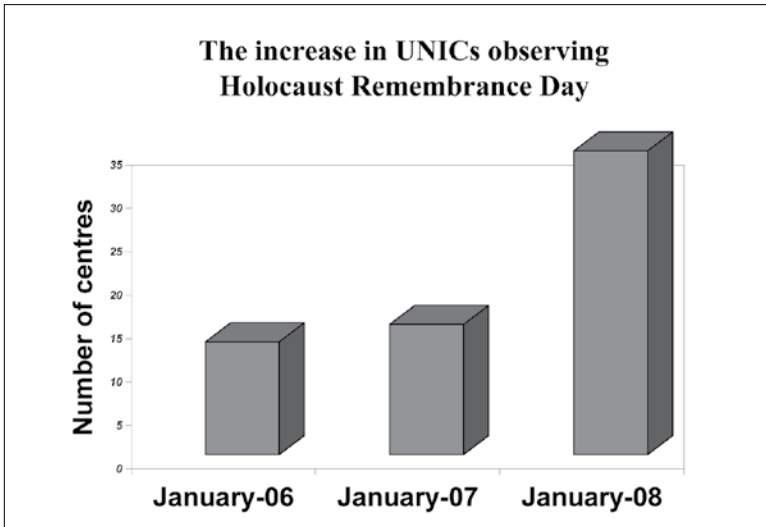
Media outreach

17. The information centres translated the message of the Secretary-General into local languages, including Azeri, Danish, German, Greek, Hungarian, Icelandic, Japanese, Polish, Portuguese, Slovak, Slovenian, Swedish and Ukrainian. Media outreach by the field offices yielded articles and/or radio interviews in the local press in Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Burundi, the Czech Republic, Germany, Greece, Japan, Kenya, Paraguay, Portugal, the Russian Federation, Switzerland, Thailand, Turkey, Ukraine, the United States of America and Zimbabwe. In addition, many information centres created special features on their websites, including UNICs Buenos Aires and Prague, and UNRIC Brussels, as well as UNISs Geneva and Vienna, and the United Nations office in Ukraine. UNIS Bangkok provided the commemorative DVD of the programme to ASTV News1, which was broadcast during the month of February.

2008 activities

Memorial ceremonies

18. Solemn ceremonies were held in Asmara, Asunción, Baku, Bogota, Bucharest, Geneva, Lima, Lusaka, Mexico City, Minsk, Panama City, Pretoria, Rio de Janeiro, Vienna, Washington, D.C. and Yaoundé. Many of these events were organized at the highest level of Government. For example, the National Congress of Paraguay, with support from UNIC Asunción and the Consulate General of Israel, hosted a commemorative event with Holocaust survivors and other dignitaries. UNIC Bucharest collaborated with the Ministry of Culture of Romania and the Elie Wiesel National Institute for Studying the Holocaust in Romania to organize a ceremony and memorial concert at the Odeon Theatre. UNIS Geneva, in collaboration with the Permanent Mission of Israel, organized a ceremony at the Palais des Nations where Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon's video message was screened. UNIC Rio de Janeiro, in partnership with the Israeli Federation of the State of Rio de Janeiro, organized an event that included the participation of the President and the First Lady of Brazil. UNIS Vienna marked the observance with Austrian officials, members of the diplomatic community, the Secretary-General of the Federal Association of the Jewish Religious Communities in Austria and the Chairman of the Ethnic Group Council for Roma at the Austrian Federal Chancellery. The United Nations office in Belarus organized a ceremony that included the Deputy Commissioner on Religions and Minorities, the National Holocaust Foundation and the Union of Belarusian Jewish Associations and Communities.



Educational activities

19. UNIC Antananarivo held a video conference at the United Nations House for students, teachers and lawyers with the Mémorial de la Shoah, in Paris. In addition, the information centre organized a book fair and a performance by the United Nations Club on women's rights. UNIC Bujumbura and the high school students of École Indépendante of Bujumbura held an event that began with a briefing on the history of the Jews and the United Nations outreach programme. The session was concluded with the screening of the video *Les Justes* (the Righteous). UNIC Brazzaville organized an information session for high school history teachers on the history of the causes and consequences of genocide, and ways in which to fight racism, intolerance and exclusion. The video *Les Justes* was also screened.

20. UNIC Lima presented a lecture on the lessons of the Holocaust to young members of the Nikkei community in Peru and other countries, in the framework of the XI International Inter-Institutional Exchange.

21. UNIC Lomé organized a round-table discussion on the Holocaust with secondary school students, teachers, members of the UNESCO Club of the University of Lomé and journalists. The information centre also participated in a conference and exhibition at the University. In addition UNIC Lomé arranged the screening of eight films on the deportation and extermination of the Jewish people during the Holocaust.

22. UNIC Manila, in cooperation with the Israeli Consulate General and Yad Vashem, the Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority, organized an essay writing contest on the Holocaust that

fostered an understanding of the importance of respecting human rights and celebrating diversity. The winners participated in the International Youth Congress held at Yad Vashem. The information centre also partnered with the UNICEF Volunteers Organization at the Lyceum of the Philippines to hold a forum on the theme “Lessons of the Holocaust” for faculty and students of international studies. The film *One Survivor Remembers*, which tells the story of Gerda Weissmann Klein’s six-year ordeal as a victim of Nazi cruelty, was also screened.

23. UNIC Prague and the Jewish Museum of Prague organized a series of eight workshops for high school students entitled “Remembering the Holocaust”. The programme included interactive games, discussions with Holocaust survivors and a film screening. In addition, the information centre opened an exhibition featuring posters from a campaign against racism, produced by the Museum.

24. UNIC Tokyo partnered with the Tokyo Holocaust Education Resource Centre to organize a workshop for 60 teachers and students on the story of Anne Frank. UNIC Yaoundé invited 158 students for a discussion on the lessons to be learned from the Holocaust and the screening of excerpts from two films, *One Survivor Remembers* and *Les Justes*.

25. The United Nations office in Armenia made a presentation on the Holocaust and genocide to high school students and their teachers, which led to discussions on discrimination, Holocaust denial and terrorism in the world today.

26. The United Nations office in Georgia, in cooperation with Andrea Benashvili Public School, organized a programme using the educational kit on teaching about the Holocaust, provided by the Gerda and Kurt Klein Foundation. The United Nations office in Ukraine, in partnership with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Education and Science and the Centre for Holocaust Studies, organized a public discussion entitled “Memory of the Holocaust and Ukrainian society: educational perspective”. The United Nations office in Uzbekistan organized a school essay competition in which students were asked to reflect upon the tragedy of the Holocaust and share their views on ways to prevent genocide today.

Exhibitions

27. Exhibitions were mounted in Antananarivo, Asmara, Baku, Brazzaville, Buenos Aires, Bujumbura, Cape Town, Dakar, Geneva, Johannesburg, Ouagadougou, Prague, Tbilisi, Vienna, Warsaw and Yerevan. UNIC Dakar mounted a photo exhibition on its premises, which was visited by more than 300 students and teachers of secondary school over a two-week period. UNIS Geneva, with the support of the International Auschwitz Committee, mounted the exhibition entitled “Open Eyes”, which displays photographs of Auschwitz and texts written by young people from Poland and Germany. UNIC Warsaw and the Shalom Foundation organized an exhibition that featured the

best posters from their 2007 poster competition, “Holocaust: Forever in our Memory”. The posters were displayed at the Jewish Theatre in Warsaw.

28. Several exhibitions formed a central part of the ceremony at UNIS Vienna. A reproduction of the postcard series by Holocaust victim Karl Schafranek was made available for the first time. The drawings were created at a labour camp in Eisenerz, Styria, Austria, in 1940 and were later smuggled out of the camp. An exhibit featuring the paintings of a survivor from Auschwitz-Birkenau, among others, was also mounted.

29. UNIC Buenos Aires lent its support to the exhibit on the theme “Righteous among the Nations”, opened by the delegation of Argentinian Israeli Associations. The exhibition highlighted the brave efforts of non-Jews who risked their lives to save Jewish people during the Holocaust.

30. UNIC Pretoria and the Cape Town Holocaust Centre mounted the exhibition “Lessons from Rwanda”. The exhibition was produced by Aegis Trust, a non-governmental organization that works to prevent genocide, in cooperation with the Department of Public Information. The information centre also partnered with the Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg, South Africa, to display the exhibition, where survivors from the Holocaust and the Rwandan genocide presented personal testimonies. The film *A Good Man in Hell* was also screened.

31. The United Nations offices in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia mounted the exhibit “To Bear Witness”, a collection of 20 black and white posters of photographs from the Yad Vashem archives. These posters illustrate the history of the Holocaust through a series of events, figures, places and concepts, including the rise of Nazism, the formation of the ghetto, deportation, the camps, the Warsaw Ghetto revolt and liberation of the camps.

Media outreach

32. Outreach to media organizations by the global network of United Nations information centres led to articles in the local press, radio and television in many countries, including Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Burundi, the Czech Republic, Germany, Greece, Kenya, Panama, Paraguay, Portugal, the Russian Federation, South Africa, Switzerland, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, Ukraine, the United States of America and Zimbabwe. Also, many information centres included special features on their websites, such as UNIS Geneva, UNRIC Brussels, UNICs Bogota, Buenos Aires, Bucharest, Lima, Lusaka, Mexico City and Warsaw and the United Nations office in Armenia. In addition, UNIC Mexico City provided information and audio feeds from Holocaust survivors living in Mexico and human rights experts for the production of a radio feature on Holocaust remembrance.

33. UNIC Antananarivo organized a briefing for journalists on the Holocaust, during which the National Information Officer shared her experience at the training seminar she participated in at Le Mémorial de la Shoah in Paris. The journalists received information materials and the programme's commemorative video entitled *Remembrance and Beyond*. UNIC Dakar held a similar briefing with the participation of the Ambassador of Israel to Senegal.

34. During the reporting period, the field offices distributed relevant information materials, posters, videos and press releases, including the message of the Secretary-General to Government officials, non-governmental organizations, civil society and the media, as well as to United Nations peace missions. The message of the Secretary-General was translated into the six official languages of the United Nations, as well as many local languages, including Armenian, Azeri, Czech, Danish, Finnish, Georgian, German, Greek, Hungarian, Icelandic, Japanese, Norwegian, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Slovak, Slovenian, Swedish, Turkish and Ukrainian.

C. Holocaust and genocide prevention seminars

35. The Department initiated creative partnerships with renowned Holocaust institutions and raised the funds to organize four week-long regional seminars. These training programmes were designed to enhance the knowledge of local level staff at the United Nations information centres worldwide on the history of the Holocaust, human rights and the prevention of genocide. Experts presented an overview of the evolution of anti-Semitism and other forms of intolerance, and illustrated the powerful role media and propaganda played in spreading hatred. The participants had the opportunity to interact with and learn from Holocaust survivors and to visit Holocaust memorials and sites, including the former concentration and death camp Auschwitz-Birkenau. They also examined the Holocaust, the Second World War and the founding of the United Nations, and studied the international legal norms designed to prevent and punish crimes against humanity and genocide. In addition, they learned how the breakdown of democratic principles could lead to human rights abuses and, in the extreme case, genocide.

36. Participants in the training seminar in Berlin included: UNIC Accra, UNIC Canberra, UNIC Colombo, UNIC Dar es Salaam, UNIC Dhaka, UNIC Harare, UNIC Islamabad, UNIC Jakarta, UNIC Kathmandu, the United Nations office in Kazakhstan, UNIC Khartoum, UNIC Lagos, UNIC Lusaka, UNIC Maseru, UNIC Nairobi, UNIC New Delhi, UNIC Prague, UNIC Sana'a, UNIC Tehran, the United Nations office in Uzbekistan, UNIS Vienna, UNIC Windhoek, UNIC Warsaw and UNIC Yangon.

37. Participants in the training seminar in Paris included: UNIC Antananarivo, UNIC Beirut, UNIC Brazzaville, UNRIC Brussels, UNIC Bujumbura, UNIC Cairo, UNIC Dakar, UNIS Geneva, UNIC Lomé, UNIC Ouagadougou and UNIC Yaoundé.

38. Participants in the training seminar in Jerusalem included: UNIC Ankara, the United Nations office in Azerbaijan, UNIS Bangkok, UNIC Bucharest, the United Nations office in Ukraine, UNIC Manila, the United Nations office in Belarus, UNIC Moscow, UNIC Pretoria, the United Nations office in Georgia, UNIC Tokyo and the United Nations office in Armenia.

39. Participants in the training seminar in Washington, D.C., included: UNIC Asunción, UNIC Bogota, UNIC Buenos Aires, UNIC La Paz, UNIC Lima, UNIC Mexico City, UNIC Panama City, UNIC Port of Spain, UNIC Rio de Janeiro and UNIC Washington, D.C.

40. The purpose of these seminars was to better equip the information officers in the field to raise public awareness about the relevance of the Holocaust today, and apply the principles they learn to outreach activities to combat Holocaust denial and promote respect for diversity and human rights. Seminars were held in May 2007 at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) in Washington, D.C., in October 2007 at Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, in November 2007, at Le Mémorial de la Shoah in Paris and in April 2008 at the House of the Wannsee Conference Memorial and Educational Site in Berlin.

Outcome

41. Nearly all United Nations information centres (57 out of 63) were able to participate in the training seminars. As a result of this and the ongoing guidance provided by the programme, the number of field offices organizing Holocaust Remembrance Day observances more than doubled from 2007 to 2008, and the number of activities increased threefold. In addition, the training institutions will continue to provide expertise, support and educational materials for the information centres' outreach activities and libraries.

42. Several joint ventures and projects have already been initiated between the field offices and the training institutions. Among them were a presentation on genocide, created by UNIC Lima with USHMM materials that the programme translated into United Nations official languages and shared with all information centres. Several of the information centres nominated students who took part in the International Youth Congress organized by Yad Vashem in Jerusalem in observance of the International Day of Commemoration in memory of the victims of the Holocaust in January 2008. Le Mémorial de la Shoah linked with UNIC Antananarivo via videoconference to give students and educators the opportunity to interact with a Holocaust survivor in Paris and to pose questions to the Director of Education of Le Mémorial. Plans are under way to make this an annual event with more francophone information centres. In addition, UNRIC Brussels is providing support for a two-day seminar to be held by Le Mémorial and the Free University of Brussels in connection with the sixtieth anniversary this year of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

D. Panel discussions

43. During the reporting period, the Department of Public Information organized a series of interactive panel discussions designed to promote awareness of the lessons of the Holocaust and their implications for preventing genocide today. By examining best practices to fight hatred, racism and Holocaust denial, the discussions aimed to mobilize civil society and the international community to help prevent mass violence. All of these events were held at United Nations Headquarters in New York, and the webcasts are available on the programme website (www.un.org/holocaustremembrance).

44. On 14 September 2006, the Department held a round-table discussion on the theme, “The United Nations and the response to genocide”. The event featured the Chair of the Secretary-General’s Advisory Committee on Genocide Prevention and focused on the historical response of the international community to acts of genocide, and the necessary steps to be taken to prevent such tragedies in the future. Other participants included the President of LBL Foundation for Children; the Deputy Permanent Representative of the Republic of Sierra Leone to the United Nations; the Executive Director of the Institute for the Study of Genocide; and the Deputy Director of the New York office of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. The film *Genocide: The Horror Continues*, produced by Baseline Studio Systems and All Media Guide, was screened.

45. On 8 November 2007, the Department organized a panel discussion on the theme “From Kristallnacht to today: how do we combat hatred?” The seminar was opened by the Under-Secretary-General for Communications and Public Information and featured speakers from civil society who shared best practices to overcome hatred, prejudice and intolerance, including on the Internet. The Special Adviser of the Secretary-General on the Prevention of Genocide delivered the keynote address. The Director-General of Human Rights of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Argentina; an instructor from Sweden’s Living History Forum; the Director of the Task Force Against Hate, of the Simon Wiesenthal Center in New York; the Director of the Centre for Social Development in Cambodia; and a Professor from Ghana currently teaching at the University of South Florida also participated. Among other themes addressed were the responsibility of Governments in protecting the rights of their citizens, the role of regional and local actors in preventing and resolving conflict, and the contribution non-governmental organizations have to make towards conflict prevention and reconciliation at the regional and grass-roots levels. A historical overview of the Kristallnacht pogrom of November 1938 was presented in the film *World War II, Into the Storm*, produced by ABC News.

46. On 12 and 26 June 2008, the Department collaborated with the United Nations University to sponsor a two-part series of interactive briefings on genocide prevention. The first briefing was organized by the United Nations University and featured David Hamburg, Chair

of the Advisory Committee on Genocide Prevention, who presented his book, entitled *Preventing Genocide: Practical Steps toward Early Detection and Effective Action*. Other speakers included the Assistant Secretary-General for Policy Planning and the Special Adviser of the Secretary-General on the Prevention of Genocide.

47. The second briefing, held on 26 June 2008, the sixty-third anniversary of the signing of the Charter of the United Nations, was organized by the programme on the theme “Saving succeeding generations”. This well-known phrase from the Charter of the United Nations emphasized the linkage between the founding principles of the Organization and its activities in the areas of Holocaust remembrance and genocide prevention. Following the opening remarks by the Under-Secretary-General for Communications and Public Information, in which he underscored the individual and collective responsibility to protect vulnerable groups, the Head of the United Nations University office in New York shared the outcome of the first briefing in the series. The keynote address was delivered by the Special Adviser of the Secretary-General, whose area of expertise includes the responsibility to protect. The Director of Libraries at Yad Vashem presented cases of rescue during the Holocaust, emphasizing the moral responsibility each person has towards others. A recent student graduate shared the personal experience of his family during the genocide in Rwanda. A Principal Legal Officer in the Office of Legal Affairs of the Secretariat explained the role of international courts in preventing and punishing genocide and other crimes against humanity. In addition, representatives of USHMM demonstrated the Google Earth satellite imagery and discussed the techniques used in their campaign against mass violence. The panellists also examined effective communication tools and practices that civil society groups could use to garner support for genocide prevention efforts.

E. Exhibitions

48. The Department of Public Information mounted two exhibitions in the United Nations Visitors’ Lobby in observance of the International Day of Commemoration in memory of the victims of the Holocaust in January 2007. The first exhibition depicted the genocide against the Sinti and Roma during Second World War and the racism that this group still experiences today. The exhibition was held in partnership with the Documentation and Cultural Centre of German Roma and Sinti and the Permanent Mission of Germany to the United Nations. The second exhibition featured artwork created by Holocaust survivors.

49. The exhibition, entitled “Memorial Drawings: Remembering the Holocaust Victims and Their Liberators” featuring artist Gennady Dobrov, opened at United Nations Headquarters on 17 January 2008. The Department co-sponsored the exhibition, which was organized by the Permanent Mission of the Russian Federation to the United Nations in cooperation with the United Nations information centre in Moscow.

50. The Department inaugurated two exhibitions under the theme of rescue and responsibility in the Visitors' Lobby on 29 January 2008. The first, entitled "BESA: A Code of Honor, Muslim Albanians who Rescued Jews during the Holocaust", by photographer Norman Gershman, was authored and curated by Yad Vashem and sponsored by the Permanent Mission of Albania to the United Nations. A second exhibition, "Carl Lutz and the Legendary Glass House in Budapest", was co-sponsored by the Carl Lutz Foundation and the Permanent Missions of Hungary and Switzerland to the United Nations.

51. On 30 January 2008, the Department unveiled a permanent exhibition on the Holocaust at United Nations Headquarters in New York. The exhibition, developed by the programme, presents an overview of the tragedy in the context of Second World War and the founding of the United Nations. Holocaust scholars from the House of the Wannsee Conference Memorial and Educational Site, USHMM and Yad Vashem served as honorary consultants on the project.

F. Film series

52. On 19 July 2006, the Department of Public Information and the New York Tolerance Center jointly screened the Academy Award-winning film *The Pianist*. The Universal Studios movie, directed by Roman Polanski, is based on the autobiography of Wladyslaw Szpilman. He was a Polish Jew and a celebrated pianist and composer, who, during the Nazi occupation, evaded deportation and hid in the ruins of Warsaw.

53. On 16 April 2007, the Department and the Anne Frank Center USA held the premier of the film *Steal a Pencil for Me*, presented by Red Envelope Entertainment. Directed by Academy Award nominee Michèle Ohayon, the documentary tells the story of love and hope between two survivors of the Holocaust, despite the hardship they endured in the camps.

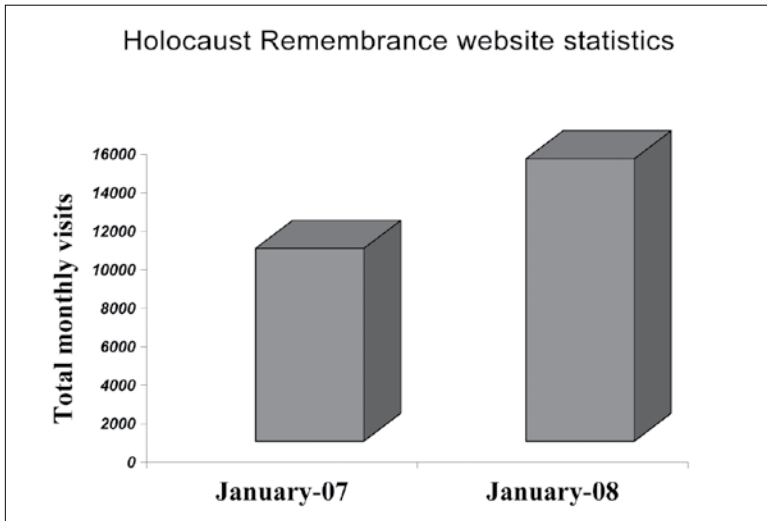
54. On 31 January 2007, the Department, in collaboration with USC Shoah Foundation Institute for Visual History and Education, screened the film *Volevo solo Vivere* (I Only Wanted to Live), directed by Mimmo Calopresti. The film tells the moving story of nine Italian survivors of the former concentration camp in Auschwitz. The following day, the film *Nazvy svoie im'ia* (Spell Your Name), directed by Serhiy Bukovsky, was shown. The film recalls the brutal massacre of Jews at Babi Yar, Ukraine. Representatives of the Permanent Missions of Italy and Ukraine made introductory remarks.

55. On 31 January 2008, the Department was joined by the Deputy Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the United Nations for the screening of *Into the Arms of Strangers: Stories of the Kindertransport*, the Academy Award-winning documentary movie released by Warner Bros. Pictures. The film tells the story of 10,000 Jewish and other children who were rescued by the British and placed into foster homes and hostels just prior to the outbreak of Second World War, many of whom never saw

their families again. A discussion followed with Deborah Oppenheimer, the film's producer, and David Marwell, Director of the Museum of Jewish Heritage—A Living Memorial to the Holocaust.

G. Multimedia outreach

56. The programme created a gateway website on Holocaust remembrance that provides users with comprehensive information on the work and activities of the programme. The website (www.un.org/holocaustremembrance) is user-friendly, accessible and contains a wealth of educational resources on the subject matter. The programme has also increased its outreach, particularly to youth, by creating a presence on the websites of YouTube and Wikipedia.



57. The Department also developed with extrabudgetary resources an online pedagogical tool and resource called “Electronic Notes for Speakers”. The Notes contain survivor testimony, lesson plans and basic facts to equip speakers with the necessary resources to conduct briefings on the Holocaust and its lessons. The project, which resulted from partnerships with Yad Vashem and USC Shoah Foundation Institute for Visual History and Education, provides concise, detailed information on the history and human experience of the Holocaust. The French and Spanish versions were created by Le Mémorial de la Shoah and USHMM, respectively.

58. The Department produced a commemorative film, with the support of the United Nations Foundation. This DVD highlights the historic first observance of the International Day of Commemoration in memory of the victims of the Holocaust, which was held at United Nations Headquarters on 26 January 2006.

59. The Department also produced a video for the permanent exhibition on the Holocaust at United Nations Headquarters. This two-minute film shows footage of events foreshadowing the Holocaust and includes scenes from the liberation of the camps in 1945 (see also www.youtube.com/holocaustremembrance).

60. United Nations Radio broadcast a programme on Holocaust remembrance under its “Perspective” series. The programme profiles the survivors and their children, who travelled to New York to participate in the memorial ceremony in January. Many of the musicians in the orchestra that performed were children of Holocaust survivors. All the family members interviewed shared moving stories of death, illness and loss, intertwined with tales of hope, courage and enduring faith.

H. Print materials

61. The Department of Public Information also designed an award-winning poster that has been reproduced in English, French, Russian and Spanish. The programme’s information card outlining its mandate and core elements has been created in English, French and Spanish. Both products have been distributed around the world.

62. The programme publishes a series of discussion papers that are written by leading scholars in the field of Holocaust and genocide studies. The papers are edited by the programme, which also prepares questions that accompany each paper to stimulate discussion among students. To date the series includes papers from seven authors from Australia, China, France, Ghana, Israel, the Sudan and the United States of America, and is published in English and French.

63. The Department regularly sends educational resources donated by its partners to the global network of United Nations information centres. Materials have included:

- *The Holocaust: frequently asked questions*: provided by Yad Vashem, Le Mémorial de la Shoah and the Holocaust Museum Houston, in English, French and Spanish, respectively.
- *La Shoah, la Mémoire Nécessaire*: provided by the Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Shoah, contains a chronology and overview of Holocaust events in French.
- Preparing for Holocaust Memorial Days, Suggestions for Educators: guidelines on useful ideas for planning annual observances, provided by Yad Vashem and the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in English, French, German, Russian and Spanish.
- *One Survivor Remembers*: educational kit designed for teens on the life and experiences of Gerda Weissman Klein during the Holocaust. The kit contains her Academy Award-winning documentary film, a copy of her biography *All But My Life*, a teachers’ guide and lesson plans for youth aged 13 to 18 years; it

is designed to help students understand the modern-day dangers of hatred; it was provided by Teaching Tolerance, a project of the Southern Poverty Law Center, in partnership with the Gerda and Kurt Klein Foundation and the HBO television network.

- *In Time: Stand Up, Speak Out, Lend a Hand*: a student magazine and teacher's guide on the importance of respect for diversity, moral values and civic responsibility, provided by TIME Classroom.
- *Into the Arms of Strangers: Stories of the Kindertransport*: DVD, book and study guide of the film, provided by Warner Bros. Pictures in English and French.
- Education of Roma Children project: fact sheets on the experience of the Roma, who were also targeted for extermination by the Nazis, provided by the Council of Europe.

I. Other activities

64. Each October the Department of Public Information co-sponsors with the Museum of Jewish Heritage—A Living Memorial to the Holocaust a concert during the Daniel Pearl World Music Days celebration, in honour of the slain journalist. The music days unite thousands of musicians over 60 countries to help spread a message of respect for diversity and solidarity.

65. Two authors discussed and signed copies of their books in the United Nations bookshop: Daniel Mendelsohn, *The Lost: A Search for Six of Six Million*, which chronicles the author's worldwide travels in search of details about the lives and fate of the members of his family during the Second World War, many of whom perished during the Holocaust; and Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories from the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands*, which unveils stories of Arabs that rescued or assisted Jews in North Africa during the Nazi occupation.

V. Evaluation

66. Feedback received from participants in the programme activities has been consistently positive. Survivors, family members and non-governmental organizations have found the programme events and information materials meaningful and helpful in raising awareness of the relevance of the Holocaust today. Educators and United Nations information centres that have accessed the online pedagogical tools have affirmed that the content is both informative and useful. An evaluation of the training seminars for United Nations information officers indicated that the seminars had increased their knowledge of the subject area and would assist them greatly in incorporating the issue into activities to promote human rights and genocide prevention. In addition, interest in the programme has grown, as evidenced by an increase of

46.5 per cent in the number of monthly visits to the programme website between January 2007 and January 2008.

“We have seen that anti-Semitism still exists today, in writing and in sentiment, and we need to address this. We must get to the root of it by including children and their parents in outreach programmes to get to the bottom of discrimination.”

“Now I have a new challenge and work to do, because no one can remain indifferent to this subject or to General Assembly resolution 60/7 after this training.” (UNIC seminar participants)

VI. Future activities

67. Memory serves as a channel through which the victims of the Holocaust can be honoured and as a vehicle for educating future generations on the importance of protecting the dignity and worth of each individual, regardless of race or religious belief. In developing a meaningful programme of outreach, the Department of Public Information will continue to consult broadly with Holocaust and genocide experts around the world. Through its many presentations to civil society groups and institutions, the programme will continue to forge partnerships that help to increase its outreach potential.

68. The programme will also continue to provide educational materials on combating anti-Semitism to the global network of United Nations information centres. Developed by its partners Office for Democratic Information and Human Rights/OSCE and the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam, a three-module set of guidelines for educators will help youth better understand the life and experience of the Jewish people, how the Holocaust came about and the ongoing threat of hatred today. Module 1 is on the history of anti-Semitism and the Holocaust; module 2 covers contemporary forms of anti-Semitism; and module 3 looks at anti-Semitism as one of many forms of discrimination. The materials also deal with the workings of prejudice in general, showing students the impact that bias can have both on individuals and on whole societies.

69. The Department will also partner with the Montreal Holocaust Memorial Centre and Museum to provide age-appropriate educational materials on the Holocaust for primary schoolchildren to the United Nations information centres in English and French.

70. The Department plans to observe the seventieth anniversary of the Kristallnacht Pogrom with its annual seminar in November 2008, focusing on the actions that led to the violence against and imprisonment of Jews throughout the Third Reich. The programme will also publish a consolidated journal of its discussion paper series in English and French.

71. Many United Nations information centres have expressed interest in mounting a Holocaust exhibition at their premises in 2009. To

facilitate this, the programme provided those offices with photographs and the text of its exhibition in Arabic, English, French, Russian and Spanish.

72. The Department will partner with USHMM to mount its exhibition, entitled “Deadly Medicine”, at New York Headquarters in 2009. The exhibition depicts how Nazi Germany carried out a campaign to “cleanse” German society of Jews and other individuals viewed as racially or biologically inferior.



"New initiatives in Holocaust remembrance and education have given us an authentic basis for hope. But we can and must do more if we are to make that hope a reality.

We must continue to teach our children the lessons of history's darkest chapters. That will help them do a better job than their elders in building a world of peaceful coexistence."



United Nations Secretary-General
BAN Ki-moon

*International Day of Commemoration in
memory of the victims of the Holocaust,
27 January 2009*

www.un.org/holocaustremembrance